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[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]

(BEING VOL. X OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)

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DHARWAR

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Editor
Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer
MYSORE

Secretary and Executive Editor
Dr. S. H. Ritti
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EDITORIAL

From Gorakhpur to Aurangabad

From the ninth Congress at Gorakhpur (2-4 March, 1983) to the tenth Congress at Aurangabad (9-11 March, 1984), the Epigraphical Society of India takes one more step forward in its path of progress. With this Congress, the Society completes ten years of its existence, usefully, we believe. During these ten years, it has, in its own humble way, tried to build up a fraternity of Edigraphists, by bringing closer senior scholars and younger researchers in the field, through its sessions held in different parts of the country.

The present session at Aurangabad has its own significance. The whole of the Marathawada region abounds in epigraphs of different periods and different languages providing a wide scope for their study. We hope that this Congress will serve as an impetus for furthering epigraphical studies in this region. The proposed symposium on the inscriptions of Marathawada region as a part of the Congress and holding a session at Ellora itself, are indeed an added attraction of the Congress.

We heartily welcome our accredtied members to this tenth Congress.

Seminars Bearing on Epigraphy

Last year we drew the attention of our members through these columns to the National Seminar on Kadambas which was held at Banavasi, the erstwhile capital of those rulers. It was a seminar exclusively devoted for the study of all aspects of the history of a single dynasty. Only recently, towards the end of January this year, a similar seminar was organised on the Vakatakas by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the Nagpur University, Nagpur. Needless to say that such seminars provide fresh scope for intensive study of a particular period and bring to light much new material useful for researchers.

In the 31st International Congress of Human Science in Asia and North Africa held in Tokyo and Kyoto, Japan, between 31st August and 7th September, 1983, one of the seminars was exclusively devoted for south and South East Asian Epigraphy. There were three sessions of which one dealt with Indus Script Studies and the other two on South Asian Epigraphy and South East Asian Epigraphy, respectively. A Noticeable feature of this seminar was the participation of Indian scholars in fairly big numbers and presentation of papers on Indian Epigraphy. We note with pleasure that the privilege of presenting the keynote address in one of the sessions fell on our former Secretary, Dr. K. V. Ramesh.

We hear that in the middle of 1983, a seminar on Indus script was held at the Tamil University, Tanjore. We also learn that the Sanskrit Department of Delhi University is organising a seminar on 'India in inscriptions,' towards the end of next month. The subject is indeed fascinating and, we hope, the outcome of

the seminar also will be equally fascinating and fruitful. We refer here to yet another seminar on Buddhism in South India organised by the Mythic Society, Bangalore, in December 1983. The seminar covered a wide range of topics and Epigraphy naturally figured largely therein.

We congratulate the organisers and participants in these seminars, which have contributed considerably for Epigraphical studies.

Our Members

We are happy to report that there has been a steady rise in the enrolment of the society and this year particularly, quite a few scholars and institutions have enrolled themselves as life members. We appreciate their generous gesture and thank them for their support and encouragement.

The Journal

This is the 10th volume of the Journal of the Society that we are publishing now. We are happy that we are able to maintain regularity in bringing out these issues every year at the time of the inaugural of the Congress. This has been made possible by the cooperation of the learned scholars who present their papers at the annual sessions, and the enlightened members who renew their memberships regularly. We offer our heart-felt thanks to all of them.

We would specially mention here that the publication of the Journal has been rendered possible, by the munificent grant of the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi. This august body has stood by us all these years and we are confident that it will continue to support us in this endeavour. We place here on record our deep sense of appretiation and graditude to the authorities of the Council.

Our Condolences

We deeply regret the sudden and sad demise of one of our seniormost scholars in the field of Indian History, Epigraphy and Archaeology, Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, former Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology of the Madras University. Dr. Mahalingam was an Honorary Fellow of the Society and he presided over the third Congress of the Society held at Udipi in 1976. Dr. Mahalingam was associated with the Society ever since its inception and, in him, the society has lost one of its well-wishers and benefactors. We pay homage to this savant who has enriched our knowledge of South Indian History and Culture through his numerous contributions.

Our thanks

As usual, the responsibility of printing this volume, has been shouldered willingly by our friends at Mysore, Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Chief Epigraphist and his able associates Dr. Subramonia Iyer, who as Editor has borne the brunt of the burden, Shri M. Jayarama Sharma and Dr. Venkatesh. We offer our sincere thanks to them We are happy to congratulate Dr. Venkatesh who is also the Assistant Secretary of the Society on his getting the Ph.D. degree of the Mysore University.

Our sincere thanks are due to Shri S. K. Lakshminarayan of the Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing House, Mysore and his enthusiastic assistant, Shri R. Venkatesh for their neat printing of the volume.

Shrinivas Ritti
Secretary and Executive Editor

IN MEMORY OF

Padmasri Dr. T. V. MAHALINGAM, M.A., D.Litt.

FORMER PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, PRESIDENT OF THE III ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA HELD AT UDUPI IN 1977 AND HONARARY FELLOW, EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

Professor Jagannath Agrawal

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am deeply beholden to the friends who have elevated me to the Presidential chair, more perhaps out of consideration of my age than for any outstanding contribution to the subject of Epigraphy. I have been primarily a teacher of the subject for more than four decades and have got a number of distinguished pupils as University professors, Archaeologists and even members of the Indian Administrative Service, who are interested in Indological studies. Whatever might have prompted you to do me this great honour, I feel overwhelmed by your affectionate generosity.

It is with a feeling of pleasure that I look back on the year that has passed since the Society met last time. This year has seen some outstanding publications in Epigraphy, which all of us must have welcomed with great joy viz. The publication of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Volume III–The Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings. It is not merely a revised edition of J. F. Fleet's work, but a thoroughly recast, augmented and much improved learned production. There had been many new discoveries of the Gupta inscriptions since 1888. These had to be added to the new volume, which even otherwise needed revision as shown by the observations of Sir Rama Krishna Gopal Bhandarkar and Dr. Franz Kielhorn. At the suggestion of Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, the Government of India sanctioned in January 1935, the proposal for a revised edition of the Gupta Inscriptions and entrusted its preparation to the veteran archaeologist and historian Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, who took up the work in right earnest. But he had hardly collected the necessary material, viz. fresh estampages of the inscriptions, notes etc, when an unexpected hurdle came in the way. The second World War broke out in 1939, and even Calcutta was bombed in 1942. As a result all the material had to be removed to a place of safety. Dr. Bhandarkar could resume his work only after the end of the war. Although he had reached the age of 70, he actively devoted himself to the revision of this volume and to the writing of a historical introduction. By 1949 he had prepared the first draft which he wanted to revise and prepared the press–copy, but fate had willed otherwise and to the great regret of us all, the great savant passed away in May 1950, without bringing to completition his labours of 15 precious year of his life.

After the sad demise of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Government of India entrusted the task of preparing the press-copy to Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra, then Government Epigraphist. As there had been many discoveries of the inscriptions of the Gupta history, Dr. Chhabra considered it

* Delivered at the IXth Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Gorakhpur on 2nd, 3rd and 4th March 1983.

necessary to take stock of the entire research work and incorporate its results in the historical introduction, besides examining and revising the published texts wherever necessary. It is within my personal knowledge, how Dr. Chhabra spent long hours in examining the new points of view, and in pondering over unsatisfactory readings. In the midst of this work Dr. Chhabra had to leave Ooty and go to Delhi first as Deputy and then as Joint Director General of Archaeology. In the meantime the office of the Government Epigraphist was shifted from Ooty to Mysore. It was under these circumstances that he sought the cooperation of Dr. G. S. Gai, in the work of the final editing and seeing it through the press. At long last the result of the labours of these top ranking Epigraphists has been placed in the hands of those interested in Epigraphy and Ancient Indian History. The future generations of students will be immensely benefitted by this epoch-making publication.

The second publication to which I would like to invite your kind attention is the History and the Inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas by the veteran Indologist Dr. Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi. This Volume includes all the inscriptions discovered so far, of these two important dynasties and contains not only their critically edited text together with an authentic English translation but also an exhaustive historical introduction, besides an excursus on Prākṛit grammar and a glossary of Prākṛit words occurring in these inscriptions, which will be a very welcome aid to the study of these records. The value of the work has been further enhanced by the additional information about the coins of these two dynasties. The work will surely be of very great assistance to those engaged in research in Ancient Indian History. We offer our hearty thanks and congratulations both to Dr. Mirashi and the Government of Maharashtra which has published it in a sumptuous edition.

The third work of note in the field of Epigraphical publications, is by my old pupil Dr. B. K. Deambi, on the Origin and Development of the Śāradā Script. I am happy to say, that Dr. Deambi has made an incisive study of the Śāradā inscriptions of Kashmir, Chamba and adjacent regions, and has done full justice to the subject. I congratulate him on making a notable contribution to the Epigraphical studies.

Now I want to speak about some important inscriptions which have been recently discovered. An inscription which is reported to be engraved on the pedestal of an image has been recently acquired for the Govt. Museum at Mathurā. I have been able to obtain a photograph of this inscription through the kindness of its Curator, Dr. Shrivastava. The image which is now lost was one of the four images which according to the inscription were installed by a private individual. The inscription refers itself to the reign of Budhagupta and is dated in the year 161, the 16th of Bhādrapada.[1] The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it definitely proves that Budhagupta's empire included the westernmost districts of the Uttar Pradesh. You are all familiar with the fact that Dr. Fleet had designated Budhagupta and Bhānugupta as rulers of Mālava. When the Sāranāth and

Dāmōdarpur inscriptions of Budhagupta were discovered, Budhagupta was recognised as an imperial Gupta ruler and the discovery of his Nālandā clay sealing determined his exact place in the Gupta genealogy. However, in certain quarters there lurked a doubt that after the death of Skandagupta, western U. P. was lost to the Guptas. The present discovery therefor has made it certain that right upto A. D. 480, Mathurā was included in the Gupta empire. Moreover, it proves that the Gupta empire had never been divided as once suggested by some scholars.

Equally important are some Vākāṭaka inscriptions about the discovery of which I have been enlightened by my esteemed friend Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Professor at the Nagpur University. He conducted archaeological excavations at Mandhal, in Umred Tehsil of Nagpur District. This place has yielded a unique record–a grant of the reign of the Vākāṭaka monarch Rudrasēna II[2]. So far no grant of this ruler had been discovered. He was known only from the copper plate grants of his son Pravarasēna II and his queen Prabhāvatī Gupta. The present copper-plate is dated in the 15th year of Rudrasēna II's rule. This grant has been made to a temple of Vishṇu, the object of worship being the foot prints of the god. It is noteworthy that the god has been named here as Sātvata. The Vishṇusahasranāma gives Sātvata as one of the synonyms for Vishṇu, though Balarāma is also called Sātvata, and the Yādavas were also known as Sātvatas.

Another set of copper plates discovered by Dr. Ajay Mitra at Mandhal, belongs to Pravarasēna II, and were issued in, his 15th regnal year from the capital Pravarapura.

A third set of copper plates issued by Pravarasēna, were found at Yavatmal, the headquarters of the District of the same name in Maharashtra. This grant is incomplete. From the extant portion we learn that the grant of a peice of land and two residential houses which were already being enjoyed by a brāhmaṇa, was confirmed by means of this charter.

Dr. Ajay Mitra had virtually struck a gold mine of Vākāṭaka records, which added two more copper plates to the large number of Vākāṭaka grants. So far only two grants of Pṛithvīshēṇa II – the Bālāghaṭ plates and the Mahurjhari plates were known, but without the royal seal. The new finds of Dr. Ajay Mitra have provided us with the seals also which have significant legends. One of these grants is dated in the regnal year 2 and was issued from the royal camp at Rāmagiri (Rāmagiri-sthāna). Rāmagiri has been made famous by Kālidāsa's mention in his Mēghadūta, and has been identified with modern Rāmṭek. The present copper plate remarkably demonstrates the importance of the place in the Gupta-Vākāṭaka age and confirms Dr. Mirashi's identification. The other grant of Pṛithvīshēṇa was issued from Beṇṇātaṭa-sthāna and is dated in the 10th regnal year. The mode of dating in both these grants is noteworthy. While the other Vākāṭaka copper plate charters mention the regnal year, the month, solar or lunar date and day, these two sets of copper plates give the date in the older style of mentioning the year, the

season, the fortnight of the season, as was the system followed in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, the Kushāṇas and the Maghas. The details of the date in the Mandhal plates are, 12th day in the seventh fortnight of summer in the 2nd year; and the first day of the first fortnight of summer in the 10th year, respectively.

In the second of these grants, which is dated in the 10th year of Pṛithvīshēṇa, there is the intriguing reading *pūrv-ādhigata-guṇavaddayādāpahṛita-va(vaṁ)śa-śriya*[*ḥ**]. In the corresponding portion of the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithvīshēṇa this had been read by Kielhorn as *pūrv-ādhigata-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahṛita-vaṁśa-śriyaḥ*. This reading has been accepted by Prof. Mirashi, who has translated it as follows:

> "Who from confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away the (royal) fortune of (his) family".

Prof. Kielhorn was not quite sure about this reading, and had even noted that the third letter in the line 27 of the Bālāghāṭ plates was *yā*; but still he missed the true reading. The late Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal had occasion to examine the text of the Bālāghāṭ plates and on this particular passage he made the following observation:

"Kielhorn read with doubts *viśvāsāt*. I think what was intended was *viśēshāt*. An expression like *guṇa-viśvāsāt* will be meaningless in Sanskrit. *Guṇa* must be present and here it had already come from culture. No question of "confidence arises".

It was an entirely valid objection which Dr. Jayaswal had raised regarding the reading hesitatingly adopted by Prof. Kielhorn. Fortynine years back while examining the original copper plates, preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, on 29th August 1934, I had in mind both the points of view of Prof. Kielhorn and Dr. Jayaswal. I found that Prof. Kielhorn had rightly pointed out that the third letter in line 27 of the Bālāghāṭ plates was *yā*, and the first letter was *gu* and not *vi*. So the first part had to be read as *pūrv-ādhigata-guṇ-ātiśayād*. It further appeared to me that the engraver had left out the medial *u* attached to the letter *da* inadvertantly, and had to be supplied. The intended correct reading therefore was *pūrv-ādhigata-guṇ-ātiśayād-upahṛita-vaṅśa-śriyaḥ*, which may be rendered as "to whom the family fortune was voluntarily offered on account of the exuberance of his virtues". Thus there is absolutely no room for the suggestion that there was a dispute regarding the succession and Narēndrasēna had forcibly occupied the throne. The expression *upahṛita-vaṅśa-śriyaḥ* is simply a poetic way of saying that by virtue of the excess of his good qualities he was eminently worthy of occupying the throne after his father Pravarasēna II. We have such expressions in the Gupta inscriptions as *Lakshmīḥ svayaṁ yaṁ varayāñchakāra* or *svayaṁvaray=ēva rājalakshmy=ādhigataḥ etc.*

The legend on the seal of this grant also has interesting historical significance. It runs thus:

Narēndrasēna-sat-sūnōr=bhartur=
Vākāṭaka-śriyaḥ ।
Pṛithvīshēṇa-nṛipatēr = jigīshōr = jaya-
sāsanam ॥

It is to be noted that Pṛithvīshēṇa has been called as 'having the desire for

conquest' and his charter is 'a charter of victory - *jayaśāsana*'. This is very well confirmed by the statement in line 33 of the Bālāghāṭ plates, where Pṛithvīshēṇa is described as the rescuer of his dynasty which had sunk low (*nimagnavaṁśa* and not *dvimagna* as given in the original by mistake). It clearly shows that Pṛithvīshēṇa had defeated some of the powerful enemies of the Vākāṭakas who in all probability were the Nalas, who under their ruler Bhavadattavarman had seized a part of the Vākāṭaka territory including Nandivardhana. It was these victories which brought about the change of wording in the Vākāṭaka royal seal, which now was literally a *jayaśāsana*.

Two more inscriptions have been brought to light by Dr. Silk Ram of the Department of History of the Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak. One of these which was noticed as early as 1970, is engraved in beautiful characters on a stone slab measuring 3'x2'. Unfortunately no details about its contents are known as it was taken away by Shri L. K. Srinivasan of the Archaeological Survey of India, Dehradun Circle, from Shri Lila Dhar Dukhi of village Jodhkan, with whom Dr. Silk Ram had left it. According to Dr. Silk Ram, it was a record belonging to the Pratīhāra period.[3] The second inscription is said to belong to the Gupta period.

I may here, invite your attention to an inscription on a stone slab preserved in the Nalanda Museum of Archaeology. I have not been able to get neither an estampage, nor even an account of it from the Curator to whom I wrote a year ago. I had occasion to notice it when I went to Nalanda in December 1981. According to the label put along with the inscription it was said to belong to Pūrṇavarman. There is one king of this name mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. However, the identity could be established only after a study of the text, which has not been published so far[4].

Apart from new discoveries, the work of re-examining the published inscriptions is no less rewarding. Kindly permit me to request you to share with me some of my own experience in this field. In line 15 of the Bhitari Stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta, Dr. Fleet had read the last *pada* of verse 7, as follows : *gītaiś=cha stutibhiś=cha vandaka-janō yaṁ prāpayaty=āryyatām* ॥ and had translated it as follows :

"Whom the bards raise to distinction with (their) songs and praises". While teaching this inscription to my post-graduate class, I felt that there is some mistake somewhere, as it does not sound proper that it should be the panegyries of the bards which raised Skandagupta to distinction. Moreover, I felt that 'distinction' was not a happy and proper rendering of *āryyatā* which means nobility. In order to find out the correct reading I had to make three trips from Lahore to Bhitari and it was at the third attempt that the inscription yielded its secret. I found that what had been read as *prā* was really *hrē* and the verb was a *hrēpayati* and not *hrāpayati*. With the new reading, this *pāda* means, "whom his nobleness causes to blush, by means of i. e. on hearing the songs and panegyrics of the royal bards". It is the ideal Indian conduct. It has been well said ;

guṇāḍhyasya sataḥ puṁsaḥ stutau lajj=aiva bhūshaṇam ।

"Of the nobleman who is rich in virtues, modesty is indeed an ornament during a recital of his praise". Kālidāsa has twice mentioned this admirable trait of character of his heroes. In Raghuvaṁśa, canto, XXII, 73, he says, *śthūyamānaḥ sa jihrāya sthutyam=ēva samācharan* "he who always performed only what was worthy of praises felt bashful, while he was eulogished".

Again in canto XVIII, 17 Kālidāsa writes :

jit=āri-pakshō=pi śilīmukhair=yaḥ śālīnatām=avrajad=īḍyamānaḥ ॥

"Although he had conquered the ranks of his enemies, he became bashful when praised by the royal bards".

It is in this spirit that the writer of the Bhitari inscription, has mentioned a virtue of Skandagupta which was universally recognised in ancient India as worthy of praise. We should therefore discard all suggestions based on the incorrect reading of the Bhitari inscription which postulate that Skandagupta's mother did not come of royal blood. Can we ever imagine that any court poet will dare to cast such an aspersion on his own patron in an official record ? I say, never, never.

Let us take another instance, where an incorrect reading has led to wrong conclusions. In the Vidishā Stone inscription of the reign of the Śuṅga ruler Bhāgavata Dr. Venis read the words *bhagavatō prāsād=ōttamasya garuḍadhvajaḥ* 'The Garuḍā Pillar of the excellent temple of the Divine Lord'. This has been cited as positive evidence of the existence of the temples of Vishṇu in the 2nd century B. C. I had occasion to examine this inscription in the Gujari Mahal Museum at Gwalior and to my surprise, I found that there was not mention of any 'excellent temple' in this inscription. What had been read as *prāsād=ōttama* was really *Purushōttama*, an epithet of Vishṇu. Accordingly I re-edited the inscription and published it so that the historians of ancient Indian architecture may not be misled.

Sometimes an important historical fact remains unknown for the simple reason that the correct reading in an inscription has been missed. Regarding the foundation of the dynasty of the Hindu-Sahi kings of Udbhandapura, Alberuni who was a contemporary of the Sahi rulers has specifically stated in his famous book Tahquiq-i-Hind, that the Hindu Sahi dynasty had been founded by Kalara who was the Prime Minister of the last Turki Sahi ruler. The Kashmirian poet historian Kalhaṇa however mentions in his Rajātaraṅgiṇī, V, 155, a powerful Sahi ruler named Lalliya, who was capable of giving asylum to kings uprooted from their kingdoms. Sir Aurel Stein thought that he was the founder of the Hindu Sahi dynasty ; and he was supported by the German scholar Prof. Charles Seybold who went so far as to suggest that the name as given by Al-Beruni should also be taken as Lalliya because Lalli written in the Arabic script could be missed as Kalar. But all such far fetched arguments can be finally disposed of and the truth arrived at, once we have the correct reading of a Sahi inscription. The very, first line of the Dewai Stone inscription of the reign of the Sahi ruler Bhīmadēva, specifically designates him as a scion of the race of

Kalāra-pāla *Kalārapāla-vaṅśōdbhava.* But this fact remained unknown, because the first line had been read as *kalārapāla-varmm-ōdbhava,* while in reality it is *Kalārapāla-vaṅś-ōdbhava.*

Sometimes a mistake in the translation leads to very funny results. For example, in the Mankuwar Buddha Image inscription, the first line as given in Fleet's Gupta inscriptions, runs as follows *Bhagavatō samyak-sambuddhasya sva-mat-āviruddhasya iyaṁ pratimā pratishṭhāpitā* This Dr. Fleet translated thus : "This image of the Divine one, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge, (and) who was never refuted in respect of his tenets, has been installed by the bhikshu Buddhamitra".

Here Dr. Fleet's rendering of the compound as one 'who was never refuted in respect of his tenets' has resulted in the formulation of theories which have no real basis. It was inferred by competent scholars like Professor K. B. Pathak, that this inscription had a very important bearing on the date of the Buddhist philosophere, Vasubandhu. He argued as follows : "According to Dr. Takakusu, the Japanese savant, the Brahmanical ascetic Vindhyavāsa was successful in a debate with Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu. Vindhyavāsa is said to have lived in the middle of the 10th century after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, i. e. C. A. D. 450. In the Gupta year 129 = A. D. 448, a Buddhist *bhikshu* named Buddhamitra installed an image of the Buddha who had not till then, been refuted in respect of his tenets". Professor Pathak concluded that this Buddhist *bhikshu* was so famous for his learning that no contemporary Brāhmaṇa scholar, however eminent, could venture to attack Buddhism, till the date of the Mankuwar inscription. Professor Pathak further arrived at the conclusion that Buddhamitra of the Mankuwar inscription was identical with Buddhamitra the teacher of Vasubandhu, who may therefore be said to have flourished during the reign of Skandagupta Vikramāditya.

However this tall structure stands on the foundations of sand, as the compound *sva-mat-āviruddhasya* has an entirely different meaning than what have been put upon it by Dr. Fleet. *Aviruddha* is a technical expression and for its explanation we have to turn to Mahāniddēsa, where it is explained as "Viruddho ti yo chittassa āghāto paṭighā to anuvirodho kapo pakopo sampakopo doso padoso sampadoso chittassa byāpatti manopadoso chittassa kodho kujhanā kujjhanā kujjhitattaṁ doso dussanā dussitattam byāpatti byāpajjanā byāpajjitattāṁ virodho paṭivirodho chaṇḍikaṁ assuropa anattamanatā chittassa ayaṁ vuchchatir virodho । yass'eso virodho pahīno samuchchinno vūpasanto paṭipassaddho abhabbuppattiko ñāṇagginā daḍḍho, so vuchchaṭi aviruddho" ।

From this passage it is clear that *aviruddha* is 'he whose various vices of the mind have been destroyed by the fire of knowledge'. The compound *svamat-āviruddha* is a *karmadhāraya* and is to be expounded as *svēna mataḥ=svamataḥ svamatañ = ch = āviruddhaś = cha* ॥ Both *svamata* and *aviruddha* are adjectives qualifying the Buddha. The expressions *svamata* and *aviruddha* as adjectives, have been used in inscriptions as two separate words. For example, in the Mathurā Buddha Image Pedestal inscription of the reign of Vāsudēva dated in the year 93, (*Ep. Ind., vol.*

XXXVII, p. 151), we have the following wording :

1 Siddhaṁ [*॥] Mahārājasya Dēvaputrasya Vāsudēvasya saṁ 90 3 Hē 4 di 20 5 asyā [ṁ] pūrvvayaṁ bhaga [va*]tō pi-

2 tāmahasya sva-matasya avirudhasya pratimā chhatraṁ cha pratishṭhāpitaṁ.

So here the inscription is to be translated as follows :

'Success. In the (reign) of Mahārāja Dēvaputra in the year 93, 4th of Hēmanta, 20th day. On this date specified before this statue and umbrella of Venerable one, the grand sire, who is Aviruddha, who is honoured by me, have been installed'.

Thus we see that neither *svamata* means his own 'tenets' nor *Aviruddha*, means 'not-controverted'. It simply means "the Aviruddha who is honoured by me". Therefore all that theory about the supremacy of Buddhamitra, and his remaining unvanquished falls like a house of cards. Before I close, let us take another interesting example as to how the sense remains obscure on account of a faulty reading. In the Mandsore Stone Slab inscription of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana dated Malava year 589, Fleet had read in lines 15-16 the words sa bhayam=Abhayadattō nāma chi [nva ?]n=prajānām. He translated it as "Collecting (in order to expell it) the fear of his subjects (?)" Fleet put a question mark at the end of this rendering showing that he was not satisfied with the sense even after explaining it, by saying that he collected the fear in order to expell it. However, even with the explanation it remains clumsy and meaningless. I was keen to see the original stone slab, and thanks to the late Mr. M. B. Garde, I was able to trace the Stone in the house of Miss Bina Filos, in Gwalior. A careful examination of the damaged part, revealed the real text. What Fleet had read as *chi* was really *vi* and the next damaged syllable was *ghna*. So that the word was *Vighnan*. Now the sense at once becomes clear. That Abhayadatta, destroyed entirely the fear of his subjects.

I have presented to you these facts in order to impress upon you the necessity of a very close coordination between Sanskrit studies and the study of Epigraphy. At the University of Calcutta, the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture and those of Sanskrit and Pali worked in close unison since the days of the great educationist Sir Ashutosh Mookerji. At Lahore, Epigraphy had been introduced by the late Dr. A. C. Woolner as one of the optional papers for M. A. Examination in Sanskrit, since 1903 ; and one happy result of this policy was that Panjab produced some eminent archaeologists and epigraphists–R. B. Daya Ram Sahni, Pandit Madho Sarup Vatsa, Dr. Bahdur Chand Chhabra, who rose to the position of Director General of Archaeology, and Dr. Hiranand Shastri who became Government Epigraphist. But alas some of the present day scholars of Sanskrit regard Epigraphy as alien, having nothing to do with Sanskrit. So far as an epigraphist is concerned he must be a deep scholar of Sanskrit language, literature and even prosody, and at the same time of Pali language and literature. I would like to appeal to all the Indian Universities through this Society, to make Epigraphy a part of the M. A. syllabus in Sanskrit and Pali, like the University of Calcutta, and make proper

provision for its teaching at the Post-graduate level.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for listening patiently to this pedestrian address and I may address and I may add that I am a confirmed pedestrian.

Notes :-

1 This has been published in *JESI.*, vol. IX, p. 6ff. [Ed.]

2 Mandhal yielded three sets of C. P. Charters, two belonging to Pravarasēna II and one to Pṛithvī-shēṇa II. They are under publication in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XL. [Ed.]

3 This inscription belongs to the reign of the Pratīhāra ruler Vatsarāja. Written in 795 A. D. this record provides the latest as yet known date to him. It is under publication in Epigraphia Indica Vol. XL. [Ed.]

4 This inscription has been edited by D. C. Sircar and included in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIX (under publication) [Ed.]

1 TEMBHURNI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I
(Second Set)

H. S. Thosar &
A. A. Hingmire

The present plates were discovered along with the previous set published above[1] at Tembhurṇi in Sholapur district in Maharashtra. They are at present in the possession of Shri M. M. Hadge, a resident of Barsi in Sholapur district.

The set consists of three rectangular copper plates, each measuring 20 cms in length and 10 cms in breadth. They were held together by a copper ring passing through a circular hole which has a diameter of 1 cm. The weight of the set is 1 kg.

It is to be regretted that all the three plates and the ring were broken into several pieces. As a result, the letters at the edges have been partially or completely lost and the reading has become very difficult in those places. Otherwise, the writing in the rest of the plates is well preserved.

The edges of these plates have been thickened and slightly raised in order to protect the writing on the plates. The first and the third plates have been inscribed only on the inner sides, while the second plate contains writing on both the sides. The first plate has nine lines ; the second plate has nine on the obverse and eleven lines on the reverse side and the third plate contains ten lines. Thus there are altogether thirty nine lines.

The characters belong to the Southern class of Brāhmī of about the 7th century A. D., and are similar to those of the Savaṇūr[2], Gadvāl[3] and Tembhurṇi plates (first set)[4] of Vikramāditya I of Bādāmi Chalukya house. The language is Sanskrit and the rules of *sandhi* have been generally observed. There are however a few errors in the writing as well as in the drafting of the present grant. As in the Tembhurṇi plates (first set)[5], the letters *ch* and *v* look so similar that they can be deciphered only with reference to the context.

The object of the charter is to record the royal grant of the village Pipparigakhēṭa to two brāhmaṇas named Durggaśarman and Vishṇuśarman. Both of them belonged to Śāṇḍilya-gōtra. Durggaśarman is described as well versed in Ṛigvēda and Yajurvēda (*Ṛigvēda-Yajurvēda-vidē*). It is interesting to observe here that Vishṇuśarman figures as the sole donee in the Tembhurṇi plates (first set) also. The present grant like the Tembhurṇi charter (first set) was made at the request of *yuvarāja* Vinayāditya.

At the time of the present charter, King Vikramāditya was on a campaign against his Pallava adversaries at Kāñchi. Like the Tembhurṇi plates (first set), this grant was also issued from his victorious camp at Daśaṇūka-grāma which was situated to the north of Virājamaṅgala[6] in Chōla-Vishaya. While the Tembhurṇi plates (first set) were issued in the month of Āshāḍha at the conclusion of summer solstice, the present charter was issued in

the month of Jyēshṭha thereby showing that the latter is earlier in point of time to the former. That Vikramāditya I continued to stay at Daśaṇūka-grāma at least for two months as the two grants testify, shows that the hostilities in the Chōla country which the Chalukyan monarch encountered were protracted.

The granted village Pipparigakhēṭa is stated to be situated to the north of Pariyaṇḍa-grama. The latter it may be noted is the village donated in the Tembhurṇi plates (first set). The grant here too was made at the request of *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya as in the Tembhurṇi plates (first set).

The date of charter is given as Śaka 594, regnal year 17, Jyēshṭha śu. 15 (*Paurṇamāsi*) on which date there was also a lunar eclipse. The grant it may be noted was made on the occasion of the lunar eclipse mentioned above.[8]

Like other Chalukyan grants, the present charter begins with the invocation to the Primeval boar (*Varāha-stuti*). Then it gives the genealogy of the Chalukya dynasty upto Vikramāditya I, which is more or less similar to other grants of the same king. As already stated above, this charter was issued from his victorious camp at Daśaṇūka-grāma lying in the Chōḷa-dēśa and to the north of Virājamaṅgala. Like the Tembhurṇi plates (first set), the present charter also testifies the important role played by Vinayāditya as *yuvarāja* in assisting his father Vikramāditya I in the administration of his kingdom, the details of which have already been discussed above[9]. This will be the second charter so far known where Vinayāditya figures as *yuvarāja*, the first being the Tembhurṇi plates (first set).

Of the geographical names occurring in the present record, Chōla-Vishaya, Virājamaṅgala, Daśaṇūka-grāma and Pariyaṇḍa-grāmā occur in the Tembhurṇi plates (first set) also where their identification has been discussed.[10] The donated village Pipparigakhēṭa can be identified with the modern village Pimparkhed in Paranda Taluk in Osmanabad district in Maharashtra.

The composer of this grant is *Mahā-sāndhivigrahika* Jayasēna who has also written the Honnur,[11] Savaṇūr[12], Gadvāl[13], and Tembhurṇi plates (first set)[14].

TEXT[15]

[Metres : Verses 1–7 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 2–5 *Āryā* ; verse 6 *Vasantatilakā*]

FIRST PLATE

1 Ōm[16] Svasti[|*] Jayaty = āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr = vvarāhaṁ kshōbhit = ārṇṇavaṁ [|*] dakshiṇ - ōnnata - daṁshṭr - āgra – viśrānta – bhu –

2 vanaṁ vapuḥ [||1*||] Śrīmatāṁ sakala - bhuvana – saṁstūyamāna – Mānavya – sagōtrāṇāṁ Hāriti –

3 putrāṇāṁ sapta - lōka – mātṛibhir = abhivarddhitānāṁ Kārttikēya – parirakshaṇa – prāpta –

4 kalyāṇa – paraṁparāṇāṁ Bhagavan = Nārāyaṇa – prasāda – samāsādita – varāha – lā –

5 [ñchchhan – ēkshaṇa – kshaṇa – vaśīkṛit – āśēsha – mahībhṛitāṁ] Chalikyānāṁ kulam = alaṁka –

6 rishṇōr = Aśvamēdh – āvabhṛitha – snāna – pavitrīkṛita – gātrasya śrī – Pulakēśi – vallabha – mahārā –

7 jasya prapautra[ḥ] parākram – ākrānta - Vanavāsy = ādi – para – nṛipati – maṇḍala – praṇibaddha –

8 viśuddha – kīrttiḥ śrī – Kirttivarmma - pṛithivīvallabha – mahārājasy = ātmajas = samara–

9 saṁsakta – sakal – Ottarāpath – ēśvara - śrī – Harshavarddhana – parājay – ōpalabdha –

SECOND PLATE ; FIRST SIDE

10 paramēśvar – āpara – nāmadhēyasya Satyāśraya – śrī – Pṛithivīvallabha – mahārājādhirā–

11 ja – paramēśvarasya priya – tanayaś = Chitrakaṇṭh – ākhya – pravara – turaṁgamēṇ = aikēn = aiva

12 pratīt – ānēka – samara – mukhē ripu - nṛipati – rudhira – jal – āsvādana – rasanāyamāna –

13 jvalad = amala – niśita – nistriṁśa – dhāray = āvadhṛita – dharaṇībhara – bhujaga – bhōga – sa –

14 dṛiśa – [nija – bhuja – vijita – vijigīshur = ātma – kavach – āvamagn – ānēka – pra –]

15 hāras = sva – gurōś = śriyam = avanipati – tritay – āntaritam = ātmasātkṛitya kṛit = aik = ādhi –

16 shṭhit – āśēsha – rājyabharas = tasmin = rājya – trayē vinashṭāni dēvasva –brahma – dēyāni dha –

17 rmma – yaśō = bhivṛiddhayē svamukhēna sthāpitavān [||*] Raṇa – śirasi ripu – narēndrān = diśi di –

18 śi jitvā sva – vaṁśajāṁ lakshmīm [|*] prāptaḥ paramēśvaratām = Anivārita –

SECOND PLATE ; SECOND SIDE

19 Vikramādityaḥ [||2*||] Api cha [|*] Mṛidita – Narasiṁha – yaśasā vihita – Mahēndra – pratāpa – vila –

20 yēna [|*] naya[na*] – vijit – ēśvarēṇa prabhuṇā śrī – Vallabhēna – jitaṁ(tam) [||3*5] Kṛita – Pallav – āvamarddaṁ dakshiṇa –

21 dig – yuvatīm = ātta – Kāñchīkaḥ [|*] yō bhṛiśam = abhiramayann = api sutarāṁ śrī – Vallabhēna jitam(tam) [||4*||]

22 Vahati svam = arthavantaṁ Raṇarasikaḥ . śrīmad = urubala – skandhaḥ [|*] yō Rājamalla – śabdam vihita –

23 Mahāmalla – kula – nāśaḥ [||5*||] Durlaṁghya – dushkara – vibhēda – viśāla – śālā durggādha – dusta –

24 ra - bṛihat - parikhā - parītā [।*] [agrāhi - yena jayat - Eśvara - pōta - rājyaṁ Kāñch = īva dakshi -]

25 ṇa - diśaḥ kshitipēna Kāñchī [॥6*] sa vikram - ākrānta - sakala - mahī - maṇḍal - ādhirājyō Vikramādi -

26 tya - Satyāśraya - śrī - Pṛithivīvallabha - mahārājādhirāja - paramēśvaras = sarvvān = ēvam ā -

27 jñāpayati [॥*] Viditam = astu vō = 'smābhiḥ chatur = navaty = uttara - paṁcha - śatēshu śaka - varshēshv = a -

28 tītēshu pravarddhamāna - vijaya - saṁvatsarē sapta - daśē varttamānē Chōḷa - visha -

29 yē pravēśat - ōtkaṭa - vijaya - skandhāvārē [Virā]jamaṅgal - ōttara - pārśv - āvasthita - Da -

THIRD PLATE

30 [śaṇū]kāgrāmam=adhivasati Jyēshṭha - paurṇamāsyāṁ chaṁdra - grahaṇa - vartta mānē Śāṁḍilya - sagōtrasya

31 Ṛig - vēda - Yajur - vēda - vidē Durgga - śarmmaṇē Śāṁḍilya - sagōtrasya Vishṇu śarmmaṇē Vinayāditya - [vijñapanayā]

32 Parichaṇḍa - grāmasy - ōttara - pārśvē Pipparigakhēṭa - grāmō dattaḥ । Tad - āgāmi [bhir*] = asmad - vaṁśyair = anyaiś = cha rā -

33 jabhir = āyur - ārōgy - aiśvary - ādīnāṁ vilasitam = achirāṁśu - chaṁchalaṁ avagachchhadbhir = āchaṁdr - ārka - dhar - ārṇava - sthiti -

34 samakālaṁ yaśaś = chichīshubhis = sva - datti - nīrviśēshaṁ [pari]pālanīya[ṁ] uktañ= cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsē -

35 na[॥*] Bahubhir = vasudhā bhuktā rājabhis = Sagar - ādibhiḥ[।*] yasya yasya yadā bhū -

36 mis = tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [॥7*॥] Svam - dātuṁ sumahach = chhakyaṁ duḥkham = anyasya pālanaṁ [।*] dānaṁ vā pāla -

37 naṁ v = ēti dānāch = chhrēyō = 'nupālanaṁ[nam] [॥8*॥] Sva - dattāṁ para - dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ[।*] shashṭiṁ

38 varsha - sahasrāṇi vishṭhāvāṁ jāyatē kṛimiḥ[॥9*॥] Chalukya - vaṁśa - jātasya Pallav - ānvaya - nāśinaḥ[।*]

39 sarvv - ānivārit - ājñasya śāsanaṁ śāsanaṁ dvishāṁ(shāṁ) [॥80*॥] Mahāsāndhivigra- hika śrī - Jayasēnēna likhi -

40 tam = idaṁ śāsanam[॥*]

Notes :-

1 Above, Vol. IX, p. 1 ff.
2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 155 ff. and plate.
3 Ibid., Vol. X, p. 100 ff. and plate.
4 *JESI.*, Vol. IX, p. 1 ff.
5 *Ibid.*,
6 The correct name of the place is Adhirājamaṅgala. [Ed.]
7 In the Tembhurṇi plates (I set), Daśaṇūka-grāma is stated to be situated to the east of Adhirājamaṅgala. Here, in the present charter, it is said to be situated to the north of Adhirājamaṅgala. [Ed.]
8 According to R. Sewell a lunar eclipse falls in the Śaka year 595 (current) in the month of Jyēshṭha (I). In that case, the equivalent in terms of English calendar will be 672 A. D., May 17, the week day being Monday. *Eclipses of the Moon in India*, p. XII. [Ed.]
9 *JESI.*, Vol. IX, p. 2.
10 *JESI.*, Vol. IX, p. 2.
11 M. A. R. (1939), p 129.
12 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 115 ff.
13 *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 100 ff.
14 *JESI.*, Vol. IX, p. 1 ff.
15 From impressions.

2 TWO JATAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYAS OF ACCESSION1303 AND 1304 A. D.,

N. Sethuraman

INTRODUCTION

The extreme south of the Indian Peninsula was the Pāṇḍya Kingdom. Madura was the traditional capital of the Pāṇḍyas. In the course of seven hundred years i. e., from 1000 to 1700 A. D. scores of Pāṇḍya kings existed. They had only six names-often repeated. The six names were Kulaśēkhara, Śrīvallabha, Vīra, Vikrama, Sundara and Parākrama. They were either Jaṭāvarmans or Māravarmans. Kings with the same or different names and with same or different titles ruled jointly or concurrently. Overlapping of the reigns is common. The phenomenon is more prominent in the 13th and 14th centuries. When one tries to study the chronology of these Pāṇḍyan kings he is liable to confuse one with another.

Kielhorn (1907) Jacobi (1911) Swamikkannu Pillai (1913) and Robert Sewell (1915) identified eighteen Pāṇḍya Kings who existed between 1162 and 1357 A. D. Following in their foot steps, in my books "Medieval Pāṇḍyas" (edition 1980) and "The Imperial Pāṇḍyas" (edition 1978), I identified *twenty two more Pāṇḍya Kings* who existed between 1000 and 1400 A. D.

The investigation of the Pāṇḍyan records is not easy. There are many obstacles and hurdles. In the midst of many difficulties I am progressing slowly and identify the kings. In this article I identify two Pāṇḍya kings who had the same name Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. They came to the throne in 1303 and 1304 A.D. respectively. Till date scholars are of the opinion that in this period there was only one Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. However records of this period bearing the same name Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya indicate two accession dates either 1303 or 1304 A. D. The problem is now solved and it is found that there were two kings of the same name Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya with accession dates 1303 and 1304 A. D. respectively.

TWO SUNDARA PANDYAS

Māravarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya I the great Pāṇḍyan monarch of the 13th century came to the throne[1] in June 1968 A. D. His Tamil Praśasti begins with the introduction *Tērpōpalgul Tirumagaḷ*[2]. He had the epithet *emmaṇḍalamum koṇḍaruḷina* (who was pleased to take every country). His natal star was Mūla[3]. His records upto year 44 are available[4]. Evidently his rule came to an end in 1312 A. D.

Kulaśēkhara had two sons. The elder was Jaṭāvarman Vīra pāṇḍya[5] of accession 1297 A. D. He was called *Kaliyugarāma*[6]. The records assigned to Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya are tabulated in Appendix I. Reverse calculations reveal that Vīra Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 16th May and the 5th June 1297 A. D. His last record is dated 1342 A. D. Probably his rule came to an end in the same year.

A record[7] which comes from Nallūr (near Vridhachalam) belongs to Kulaśē-

khara. It states that Prince Sundra Pāṇḍya set up an image of god Vīrapāṇḍyēśvara in the name of his elder brother Vīra Pāṇḍya. Sundara also set up an image of goddess "*Dēśamikka Perumāḷ Nāchchiyār*" in the name of the queen of Vīra Pāṇḍya. It is evident that Sundara Pāṇḍya had great respect for his elder brother Vīra Pāṇḍya.

Swamikkannu Pillai identified[8] the younger brother as Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1303 A. D. A record[9] which comes from Malaiyaḍikurichchi confirms the date surmised by Pillai. But later discoveries of inscriptions complicate the matter. Certain records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Paṇḍya point out the accession in 1303 A. D., and some in 1304 A. D. In the result, the reports suggest, either 1303 A. D., or 1304 A. D., as the initial year of the king.

Astronomy is stubborn and firm in pointing two initial dates. It indicate that two kings of the same name Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya could have existed-the senior coming to the throne in 1303 A. D. and the junior in 1304 A. D. Astronomy prompts us to search for source materials for establishing the existence of two kings of the same name coming to the throne in the successive years.

Elsewhere we were confronted with such a phenomenon when we discussed the case of two Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍyas[10] of accession 1253 A. D., and 1254 A. D. There historicity helped us in identifying the two kings. In the case of the Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas of accession 1303 A. D. and 1304 A.D. the inscriptions do not help us.

The fact remains that there are two sets of records. The data of the first set with the name Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya agree with the accession year 1303 A. D. Certain records supply Śaka year, solar dates etc., Certain records contain the epithet *emmaṇḍalamum koṇḍaruḷina* (who was pleased to take every country). The records assigned to Sundara of accession 1303 A. D. are tabulated in Appendix II. Reverse calculations reveal that he came to the throne between the 17th March and the 27th April 1303 A.D. His records running upto 1325 A. D. are identified.

The data of the second set of records bearing the same name Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya agree with the accession year 1304 A. D. Some of them also supply Śaka years, solar dates etc., Curiously some of these records state that the surname of the king was *Kōdaṇḍarāmāṉ* and his natal star was *Pushya*. The records assigned to this junior Sundara are tabulated in Appendix III. Reverse calculations reveal that he came to the throne between the 18th March and the 13th April 1304 A. D. His records running up to 1319 A. D. are identified.

It is evident that there were two Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas. *One of them was the second son of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara*. We must identify this son and also the other Prince.

When the chronology is established and when the genealogy is not known, we have to turn to literature which comes to our rescue. The Sanskrit poem Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya solves our problem. It states[11] "that *Sundara Pāṇḍya alias Kōdaṇḍarāmaṉ*

was the nephew (son of the sister) of Vīra Pāṇḍya alias *Kaliyugarāmaṉ*. On the basis of this valuable information the chronology are furnished below.

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA PANDYA I
1268—1312 A. D.

Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya *alias* Kaliyugarāmaṉ 1297 - 1342 A. D.	Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (who was pleased to take every country) 1303 - 1325 A. D.	Daughter
		Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias* Kōdaṇḍarāmaṉ. His natal star was Pushya 1304 - 1319 A. D.

HISTORICAL EVENTS

The Persian poet Wassaf 1312 A. D., states[12] that Vīra Pāṇḍya was younger and Sundara was elder. He further states that Vīra Pāṇḍya was the illegitimate son and Sundara was the legitimate son. Wassaf was wrong. The Nallur record discussed above states that Vīra Pāṇḍya was elder and Sundara was younger. Both were the legitimate sons of Kulaśēkhara.

Wassaf states that Kulaśēkhara crowned Vīra Pāṇḍya rejecting the claim of Sundara. This is also wrong. The dates of the two princes prove that they were crowned during the life time of their father Kulaśēkhara.

The Persian poet states that the two brothers were on hostile terms. This is also wrong. The Nallūr record discussed above and the records[13] which come from Śrīvaikuṇṭham prove that father Kulaśēkhara and the sons Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya were on cordial terms. There was no animosity in the royal family.

Wassaf states that at the close of the Hijira year 709 i. e., in the year 1310 A. D. Sundara Pāṇḍya killed his father Kulaśēkhara. This is totally wrong. Inscriptions prove that Kulaśēkhara lived till 1312 A. D. A record[14] which comes from Tirumāl-Ukandankōṭṭai belongs to the second son Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 9, corresponding to 1312 A. D. It states that Sundara arranged services to god* for the welfare of his father. The services were to be conducted in the temple every month on the day of Mūla, the natal star of his father *(ayyaṉ)* evidently Kulaśēkhara. This proves that when his father was sick, Sundara was praying to god for the health of his father.

Wassaf lived in Persia. He did not come to India. His writings were based on rumours and oral statements collected from his friends-the horse dealers and sailors. His statement is unreliable. For further studies I request the reader to please refer to my book "The Imperial Pāṇḍyas". I have dealt with this subject in detail.[15]

Malik Kafur plundered Madura[16] in April 1311 A. D., and returned to Delhi in

the month of October of the same year. Kulaśēkhara met natural death in 1312 A. D. Vīra Pāṇḍya and his younger brother Sundara Pāṇḍya continued their reigns. In the year 1313 A. D., the Kēraḷa king Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara in-vaded the Tamil country and defeated the Pāṇḍyan brothers.[17] He and his coregent Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya[18] established their authority in the northern areas of Tamil Nadu.

The brothers Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya appealed to the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra for help. In the year 1316 A. D., the Kākatīya general Muppiḍi Nāyaka drove out the Kēraḷa kings from Kāñchīpuram[19] In 1317 A. D., the Kākatīya general Dēvarināyaka drove out Kēraḷa king Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara and Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya from Śrī Raṅgam and established the younger brother Sundara Pāṇḍya on the throne at Vīradhavalam[20] near Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi (while the elder brother Vīra Pāṇḍya. continued his reign from Madura). The Kēraḷa kings retired to Travancore. The Pāṇḍyan brothers were grateful to the generals of the Kākatīyas. In the year 1317 A. D. Sundara Pāṇḍya arranged a service in the Vṛidhāchalam temple in honour of the Kākatīya general Muppiḍi Nāyaka. The elder brother Vīra Pāṇḍya also made contributions to the same service.[21] Vīra Pāṇḍya celebrated the victory by instituting a service called *Kaliyukarāmaṇ sandhi* in his name in the Kāñchīpuram Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ Temple.[22] The nephew Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias Kōdaṇḍarāmaṇ* of accession 1304 A. D., also instituted a similar service in the same temple in his name as *Kōdaṇḍarāmaṇ sandhi* in view of the victory of the Pāṇḍyas over the Kēraḷa kings.[23]

The Muhammadan invasions and the subsequent historical events of this period are turning points in the history of Tamil Nadu. The subject is outside the scope of this article. For further details I request the reader to please refer to my book "The Imperial Pāṇḍyas".

MARAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYA

(1303–1322 A. D.)

During this period another Pāṇḍyan prince by name Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya did exist. He came to the throne in 1303 A. D. He had the epithet *emmaṇḍalamum koṇḍaruḷina* (who was pleased to take every country). He was a contemporary of Kulaśēkhara, Vīra Pāṇḍya and the two Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas. The records assigned to Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1303 A. D., are tabulated in *Appendix IV*. The table is self explanatory. Reverse calculations reveal that Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 3rd April and the 21st July 1303 A. D. His records upto year 19 are identified.[24] Probably his rule came to an end in 1322 A. D.

The relationship between Māravarman Sundara and the other Pāṇḍyan princes is not known. I have to refer to this king Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya because his records and their dates are likely to confuse the researchers. Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1303 A. D., is to be treated as a separate identity.[25] His records are many.[26] The part played by this king in the history of the Pāṇḍyas is not known. Future discoveries may throw fresh light on the activities of this prince.

APPENDIX I

JAṬĀVARMAN VĪRA PĀṆḌYA *ALIAS* KALIYUGARĀMAṆ OF ACCESSION 1297 A. D.

Findspot–Reference	Year, data and other details	English equivalent
115/1940 Tiruvattiyūr	Year 4, Mīna, śu 9, Pūśam and Sunday	19th Mar., 1301 A.D.
430/1921 Tiruveṇṇainallūr	Year 5, Vriśchika, śu 7, Aviṭṭam and Wednesday.	8th Nov., 1301 A. D.
34/1920 Tirumaḻavāḍi	Year 6, Kāṟkaṭaka, ba 12, Mṛigaśira and Sunday.	22nd July, 1302 A. D.
401/1908 Tiruviḻimiḻalai	Year 6, Kanni, śu 6, Mūla and Friday.	28th Sept., 1302 A. D.
44/1937 Śrīraṅgam	Year 10, Kuṁbha, ba 13, Uttirāḍam and Wednesday.	1st Feb., 1307 A. D.
47/1937 Śrīraṅgam	Year 10, Kuṁbha, ba 13, Uttirāḍam Wednesday (surname of the king is Kaliyugarāmaṇ.)	—do—
48/1937 Śrīraṅgam	-do-	—do—
50/1937 Śrīraṅgam	-do-	—do—
43/1937 Śrīraṅgam	Year 12, Tulā, ba 10, Makha and Wednesday	9th Oct., 1308 A. D.
231/1939 Śrīvañjiyam	Year 13, Siṁha, śu, Svāti and Monday (Two individuals, Sirupunrūr Kiḻavan Alagiya Nāyaṉ Tiruvambala Perumāḷ and Sirupuṇṟūr Kiḻavaṉ Tiruvañchiyam Uḍaiyāṉ figure).	11th Aug., 1309 A. D.
227/1939 Śrīvañjiyam	Year 13, Mēsha, ba 11, Sadayam and Friday (The two individuals of 231/1939 also figure here).	27th Mar., 1310 A. D.
89/1940 Tiruvattiyūr	Year 14, śu 8, Aṇilam and Monday.	3rd Aug., 1310 A. D.

Findspot–Reference	Year, data and other details	English equivalent
45/1906 Tirukkaḍaiyūr	Year 14, Dhanus, ba 10, Svāti and Wednesday (refers to the 31st year of his predecessor, evidently his father Kulaśēkhara of accession 1268) A. D.	16th Dec., 1310. A. D.
47/1890 Madura	Year 21, Makara, ba 3, Uttiram and Friday.	20th Jan., 1318 A. D.
273/1942 Madura	-do-	—do—
177/1940 Viriñchipuram	Śaka 1239, year 21, Māśi, śu 13 mistake for śu 3, Rēvati and Sunday.	5th Feb., 1318 A. D.
305/1923 Tirukkōshṭiyūr	Year 22, Simha 18, ba 2 mistake for ba 3, Uttiraṭṭāti and Tuesday	15th Aug., 1318 A. D.
38/1913 Kaṟguḍi	Year 22, Vṛiśchika, śu 5, Uttirāḍam and Monday (refers to an earlier settlement made by Perumāḷ Kulaśēkhara Dēva and Vijyālaya Dēva)	30th Oct., 1318 A. D.
67/1911 Śrīvañjiyam	Year 22, Ṛishabha, śu 13, Chitra and Wednesday (The two individuals of 231/1939 also figure here).	2nd May., 1319 A. D.
73/1911 Śrīvañjiyam	-do-	—do—
232/1939 Śrīvañjiyam	Year 23, Mīna, śu 5 mistake for ba 4, Svāti and Wednesday (The two individuals of 231/1939 also figure here).	27th Feb., 1320 A. D.
233/1939 Śrīvañjiyam	Year 23, Mīna, śu 6, mistake for ba 6, Anusham and Friday (the two individuals of 231/1939 also figure here).	29th Feb., 1320 A. D.
546/1911 Sērmādēvi	Year 26, Ṛishabha 4, śu 9, Sadayam and Friday.	29th Apr., 1323 A. D.

Findspot-Reference	Year, data and other details	English equivalent
52/1945 Seṅgani	Year 30, Tulā, śu 1, Aṉilam and Monday	27th Oct., 1326 A. D.
87/1940 Tiruvattiyūr	Year 38, Mēsha, śu 2, Bharaṇi and Sunday (surname Kaliyugarāmaṉ)	26th Mar., 1335 A. D.
120/1908 Tiruppattūr	Year 46, Mithuṉa 21, śu 12, Anurādha and Sunday (The Muhammadans who occupied the Tiruppattūr temple were driven out. The Regnal year is 46. See Indian Antiquary 1913, p. 228)	16th June, 1342 A. D.

On the basis of 546/1911 the star Śadayam in Ṛishaba of 1297 A. D. falls in the Oth year. The star was current on 15th May. On the basis of 120/1908 the star Anurādha in Mithuna of 1297 A. D. falls in the first year. The star was current on 5th June.

Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya alias Kaliyugarāmaṉ came to the throne between the 16th May and the 5th June 1297 A. D. His rule extended upto 1342 A. D.

APPENDIX II

JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA PĀṆḌYA OF ACCESSION 1303 A. D.

Findspot-Reference	Year, data and other details	English equivalent
518/1918 Tiruveṅkāḍu	Year 2, Makara, śu 13, Mṛigaśira and Friday. (Breach in the river Cauvery).	8th Jan., 1305 A. D.
173/1914 Ratnagiri	Year 6, Mīna, śu 13, Makha and Sunday (Gift for Māśi Makam festival).	23rd Feb., 1309 A. D.
596/1915 Sāyamalai	Year 9, Vṛiśchika 10th solar day, ba 11, Hasta and Sunday (refers to Kula-śēkhara Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple).	7th Nov., 1311 A. D.
301/1923 Tirukkōshṭiyūr	Year 11, Vṛiśchika 4th solar day, śu 12, Rēvati and Wednesday – (*who was pleased to take every country*).	31st Oct., 1313 A. D.

Findspot–Reference	Year, data and other details	English equivalent
571/1920 Kaṭṭumaṇṇār Kōyil	Year 11, Kuṁbha, ba 10 mistake for śu 10, Mṛigasira and Saturday, (refers to the reigns of the earlier kings who ruled from 1133 to 1314 A. D.).	26th Jan., 1314 A. D.
391/1940 Peruṅguḍi	Year 11, Kaṟkaṭaka, śu 5, Uttiram and Friday.	29th June, 1313 A. D.
90/1897 Mannārguḍi	Year 12, Kaṇṇi, śu 13 mistake for śu 3, Svāti and Friday (Tax on Pepper-See 89/1897 of Appendix III).	13th Sept., 1314 A. D.
608/1915 Malaiyaḍikurichchi	Year 12, Śaka 1236	1314–15 A. D.
125/1903 Tiruchuṇai	Year 14, Mīna, śu 7, Punarpūśam and Sunday (*who was pleased to take every country*).	20th March, 1317 A. D.
23/1900 Tāramaṅgalam	Year 15 Ṛishabha, śu, Pūśam, Monday (Nalluḍai Appar is forming a new brāhmaṇa colony called Śrī Lakshmaṇa-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the name of his father. Lands irrigated by the tank Śeyya Perumāḷ Ēri are gifted to the brāhmaṇas of the village. There are six signatories. See 24/1900 of Appendix III).	16th May, 1317 A. D.
252/1901 Achcharappākkam	Year 15, Kaṇṇi, ba 7, Rōhiṇi and Monday-(mentions the hamlet Kōdaṇḍarāma-chēri evidently called after Jaṭā Sundara of accession 1304 A. D. of Appendix III).	29th Aug., 1317 A. D.
69/1908 Veḍāl	Year 16, Kaṟkaṭaka, śu 7, Hasta and Wednesday (mentions Vikrama Pāṇḍya Vaḷanāḍu, evidently called after Māra Vikrama 1250-66 A. D.).	5th July, 1318 A. D.
147/1933 Tirukkaḻukuṇṟam	Year 16, Simha, śu 1, Sunday.	27th Aug., 1318 A. D.

Findspot-Reference	Year, data and other details	English equivalent
308/1909 Tirukkachchūr	Year 17, Siṁha, śu, Uttiram and Monday.	30th July, 1319 A. D.
185/1916 Tiruppukkuḻi	Year 17, Mīna, ba 13, Śadayam and Saturday (mentions Svāmi Santōsha Chaturvēdimaṅgalam).	8th March 1320 A. D.
69/1933 Tirukkachchūr	Year 18, Siṁha, śu, Makha and Tuesday.	5th August, 1320 A. D.
284/1929 Iḍyār	Year 19, Siṁha, ba 1, Aviṭṭam and Saturday.	8th August, 1321 A. D.
220/1944 Tiruppaṅgali	Year 22, Ṛishabha, śu 3, Punarpūśam and Saturday (grants for the welfare of the king).	26th May, 1324 A. D.
231/1944 Siṅgaḷantapuram	—do— (connected to 220/1944).	—do—
74/1911 Srīvañjiyam	Year 23, Ṛishabha, śu 7, Sunday (Two individuals of 231/1939 of Appendix I of Jaṭā Vīra Pāṇḍya also figure here).	20th May 1325 A. D.

On the basis of 185/1916 the star Śadayam in Mīna of 1303 A. D. falls in the Oth year. The star was current on 16th March.

No. 73/1911 year 23 is dated in 20th May 1325 A. D. On that day the star Pūram was current. Accordingly Pūram in Ṛishabha of 1303 A. D. falls in the first year. The star was current on 27th April.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 17th March and the 27th April 1303 A. D. His rule extended upto 1325 A. D.

APPENDIX III

JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA PĀṆḌYA *ALIAS* KŌDAṆḌARĀMAṆ OF ACCESSION 1304 A. D.

Findspot-Reference	Year, data and other details	English equivalent
189/1940 Viriñchipuram	Year 2, Śaka 1227-Mīna 2nd solar day Friday. Vīrachampan *alias* Ediriliśōḻa-Śambuvarāyaṉ figures.	25th Feb., 1306 A. D.

Findspot–Reference	Year, data and other details	English equivalent
183/1940 Viriñchipuram	Śaka 1228 Kumbha (gift to the temple by Vīrachampan *alias* Edirilišōḷa-Śambuvarāyaṇ).	February, 1307 A. D.
62/1916 Tirukkāḷakkuḍi	Year 7, Tulā, ba 11, Monday and Utti-rāḍam-mistake for Uttiram. (Gift of lands for festival to the image of goddess).	19th Oct., 1310 A. D.
297/1939 Poonamalle	Year 12, Makara, śu 7, Friday and Rēvati.	2nd Jan., 1316 A. D.
89/1897 Mannārguḍi	Year 12, Makara, śu 7, Friday and Rēvati. (Tax on arecanut. The name of the king is lost. The wordings of this record are identical with that of 90/1897 of Appendix II-hence assigned to Sundara of accession 1304).	2nd Jan., 1316 A. D.
24/1900 Tāramaṅgalam	Year 13, Siṁha, śu 13, Monday and Utti-rāḍam. (Nalluḍai Appar is forming a new brāhmaṇa colony Śrī Lakshmaṇa-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the name of his father. Lands irrigated by the tank Kāraikuḷam are gifted to the brāh-māṇas. Six signatories of 23/1900 of Appendix II also figure here).	2nd Aug., 1316 A. D.
293/1944 Illuppūr	Year 13+1, Mithuna, śu, Sunday and Svāti.	19th June, 1317 A. D.
84/1918 Vriddhāchalam	Year 13+1, Kuṁbha, śu 13, Pushya and Monday. (A service called Kōdaṇḍa-rāmaṇ sandhi in the surname of the king was instituted on the day of his natal star Pushya. An officer by name Neṭṭūr Uḍaiyāṇ Kāliṅga-rāyaṇ figures).	13th Feb., 1318 A. D.

Findspot-Reference	Year, data and other details	English equivalent
123/1904 Tīrthanagari	Year 13+3, Mēsha, śu 9, Friday and Pūśam. A service called Kōdaṇḍarāmaṇ sandhi was instituted in the surname of the king. The officer Neṭṭūr Uḍaiyāṇ Kāliṅgarāyaṇ figures.	30th March, 1319 A. D.

Record 189/1940 year 2 is dated in 25th February 1306 A. D. On that day the star Pushya was current in the month Mīna. Accordingly Pushya in Mīna of 1304 A. D. falls in the Oth year. The star was current on 17th March. On the basis of 123/1904 Pushya in Mēsha of 1304 A. D. falls in the first year. The star was current on 13th April.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya alias Kōdaṇḍarāmaṇ came to the throne between the 18th March and the 13th April 1304 A. D. His rule extended upto 1319 A. D.

APPENDIX IV

MĀRAVARMAN SUNDARA PĀṆḌYA OF ACCESSION 1303 A. D.

Findspot-Reference	Year, data and other details	English equivalent
76/1911 Śrīvañjiyam	Year 11, Kumbha, śu 4, Monday and Mūla-irregular (The two individuals who figure in 231/1939 of Appendix I of Jaṭā Vīra Pāṇḍya also figure here).	February, 1314 A. D.
98/1940 Tiruvaṭṭiyūr	Year II, Mīna, ba 1, Hasta and Sunday.	3rd March, 1314 A. D.
Pd 343 Palankarai	Year 12, Dhanus, ba 6, Makha and Thursday.	28th Nov., 1314 A. D.
75/1911 Śrīvañjiyam	Year 12, Mīna, śu 5, mistake for ba, 5 Svāti and Monday. (The two individuals of 76/1911 above also figure here).	24th Feb., 1315 A. D.
462/1941 Giriammapuram	Year 12, Mīna 30th solar day, ba 4, Anurādha and Tuesday *(who was pleased to take every country)*.	25th Mar., 1315 A. D.
264/1941 Siṅgikuḷam	Year 13, Āvaṇi 29th solar day, ba 12, Āyil-yam and Wednesdy (*who was pleased to take every country*).	27th Aug., 1315 A. D.

Findspot–Reference	Year, data and other details	English equivalent
97/1900 Tiruvōttūr	Year 12 (Vīra Champaṇ *alias* Śambuvarāyan figures. He figures in Tiruvallam record 3/1890 dated Śaka 1236 corresponding to 1314 A. D. He figures in 189 and 183 of 1940 of Appendix III).	1315 A. D.
344/1911 Kaḷattūr	Year 14, Kuṁbha, śu, Uttirāḍam mistake for Uttiraṭṭāti and Monday.	14th Feb., 1317 A. D.
343/1911 Kaḷattūr	Year 14, Mīna, śu 1, Rēvati and Monday.	14th Mar., 1317 A. D.
342/1911 Kaḷattūr	Year 14, Mēsha, śu 13, Chittirai and Sunday, (Three donors who figure in 344, 343 and 342 of 1911 are brothers).	24th April, 1317 A. D.
616/1902 Tiruppuṇavāśal	Year 17, Kaṟkaṭaka, śu 7, Svāti and Monday (*who was pleased to take every country*).	23rd July, 1319 A. D.

On the basis of 342/1911 the star Chittirai in Mēsha of 1303 A. D. falls in the Oth year. The star was current on 2nd April. On the basis of 616/1902 the star Svāti in Kaṟkaṭaka of 1303 A. D., falls in the first year. The star was current on 21st July.

Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 3rd April and 21st July 1303 A. D. His rule extended upto 1322 A. D., as is evidenced by Tirukkāchchūr record 309/1909 - year 19.

APPENDIX V

1) Two individuals–Śirupuṇṟūr Kiḷavaṉ Aḷagiya Nāyaṉ Tiruvambala Perumāḷ and Śirupuṇṟūr Kiḷavaṉ Tiruvāñchiyam Uḍaiyāṉ figure in the following Śrīvañjiyam records.

231/1939	of Appendix I - Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya	dated	1309 A. D.
227/1939	-do-	-do-	1310 A. D.
67/1911	-do-	-do-	1319 A. D.
73/1911	-do-	-do-	1319 A. D.
232/1939	-do-	-do-	1320 A. D.
233/1939	-do-	-do-	1320 A. D.
74/1911	of Appendix II Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya		1325 A. D.
76/1911	of Appendix IV - Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya		1314 A. D.
75/1911	of Appendix IV	-do-	1315 A. D.

2) The chief Vīra Champaṇ *alias* Śambuvarāyaṇ figures in the following records (A. R. S. I. E. 1939-43, Part II, paras 56 and 57).

189/1940 of Appendix III–Jaṭāvarman Pāṇḍya dated 1306 A. D.
183/1940 -do- -do- 1307 A. D.
97/1900 of Appendix IV Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya dated 1315 A. D.
3/1890 (E. I., III, p. 70)–Śaka 1236 dated 1314 A. D.
51/1893 (E. I., III, p. 71)–Śaka 1236 dated 1314 A. D.

The internal evidence of the above record, proves that Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya *alias Kaliyugarāmaṇ* of accession 1297 A. D., Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1303, A. D., Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1303 A. D., and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya alias *Kōdaṇḍarāmaṇ* of accession 1304 A. D., were contemporaries. In view of the internal evidence the errors in the astronomical data of 232 and 233 of 1939 and 76 and 75 of 1911 are to be ignored.

3) The following records belong to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias Kōdaṇḍarāmaṇ* They mention either his surname *Kōdaṇḍarāmaṇ* or his natal star *Pushya* or both. An Officer by name Neṭṭūr Uḍaiyān Kāliṅgarāyaṇ figures in most of these records.

Record	Village	Regnal Year
40/1893	Kāñchīpuram	13
74/1908	Veḍāl	13+2
175/1918	Brahmadēśam	13+1
424/1913	Aragalūr	13
415/1921	Tiruvaḍi	13+1
529/1922	Tirukkaṇṇapuram	9
74/1928	Tiruppugaḷūr	13+1
75/1928	Tiruppugaḷūr	13+1
323/1930	Aḷagarkōyil	9
64/1935	Teḷḷār	13+1
18/1937	Śrīraṅgam	10
19/1937	Śrīraṅgam	12

Record	Village	Regnal Year
171/1939	Tiruppaṅgali	8
94/1944	Tiruvēndipuram	12
222/1944	Tirupaṅgali	13+
382/1959	Rājēndran Paṭṭiṇam	Year lost

The regnal years above 13 are quoted as 13 plus. This is a peculiar feature of the records of Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias Kōdaṇḍarāmaṇ*.

Notes :-

1 *Indian Ephemeris.*, Volume I, part II, p. 27

2 S. I. I. Vol. IV ; 254/1928 ; 465/1930.

3 247/1925 ; 254/1923 ; A. R. I. E. 1959-60, p. 25.

4 106/1916, year 44 ; 646/1902, year 44.

5 306/1950 ; A. R. S. I. E., 1938-39, p. 83.

6 A. R. S. I. E. 1936-37, part II, para 42 ; Ibid., 1939-43, p. 251.

7 156/1941 ; A. R. S. I. E., 1939-43, p. 249.

8 Indian Antiquary, 1913, p. 228.

9 608/1915, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Paṇḍya, year 12, Saka 1236.

10 "Two Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍyas of accession 1253 and 1254" Paper presented by me in the Seventh Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Calcutta in January 1981. Also see p. 184 of Medieval Pāṇḍyas (1980 edition) published by me.

11 Pāṇḍya Kulōdaya., (1981 edition), p. 212, Published by Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Punjab University, Hoshiarpur, Please see the introduction. The editor Dr. K. V. Sarma has has made a very useful surmise about Sundara Pāṇḍya alias Kōdaṇḍarāma the nephew of Vīra Pāṇḍya *aliyas* Kaliyugarāma.

12 History of India As Told By The Muhammadan Historians, Part III, Elliot and Dowson, 1871.

13 A. R. S. I. E., 1959-60, p. 25 ; Also see the records in the p. 84 and 85 of the same report.

14 51/1931-32, Jaṭāvarman Sundara (of accession 1303 A. D.), year 9.

15 There was a prince by name Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya (1313–1335 A. D.) possibly another son of Kulaśēkhara by a second wife. He turned traitor and joined the Muhammadan invaders. He too did not kill Kulaśēkara. Wassaf should have confused Rāja Rājan Sundara with Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1303 A. D. See p. 175 to 192 of The Imperial Pāṇḍyas.

16 Elliot and Dowson, History of India As Told by The Muhammadan Historians, Part III, p. 69 and 555

17 Kielhorn, E. I., Vol. IV, p. 145 – 152 ; Hultzsch, E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 8.

18 Peṇṇāgaram 47/1898, year 5 ; Perunagar 344/1923, year 5 ; T. A. S., Vol. IV, Part I, p. 89–91, Kēraḷa Vīra Pāṇḍya, year 4, Kollam 491, Kuṁbha 21 corresponding to 16th February 1316 A. D.

19 Kāñchīpuram 43/1893 ; Hultzsch E. I., Vol. VII, p. 128 – 130

20 Jambukēśvaram S. I. I., Vol. IV. p. 430 ; Śrī Raṅgam 79/1938-39 ; A. R. S. I. E., 1938-39, p. 73 ; The report surmises that the Kākatīyas defeated the Pāṇḍyan Prince Vīra Pāṇḍya. E. I., Vol. XXVII, No. 48 surmises that Vīra Pāṇḍya was a different king. Actualy it was Kerala Vīra Pāṇḍya who was defeated by the Kākatīyas. See p. 139 – 145 of The Imperial Pandyas.

21 Vṛiddhāchalam 72/1918 Jaṭāvarman Sundara (of accession 1303 A. D.); year 14 corresponding to 1317 A. D. ; A. R. S. I. E. 1918, p. 156.

22 S. I. I., Vol. IV. No. 855, year 21, Mārgaḻi corresponding to December 1317 A. D.

23 S. I. I., Vol., IV, No. 853, year 13 corresponding to 1317 A. D.

24 Tirukkachchūr 309/1909, Māravarman Sundara, year 19.

25 See p. 228 of my The Imperial Pāṇḍyas – I surmised that Māravarman Sundara came to the throne in 1344 A. D. I made further research which necessitated revision in favour of 1303 A. D. only

26 272/1902 and 197/1335, year 10 ; 97/1900 and 92/1940, year 12 ; 89/1918 and 141/1902, year 12. Piranmalai record 226/1924 of Māravarman Sundara. Bhuvanēkavīra Vikrama Pāṇḍya who ruled between 1250 and 1266 A.D. names the gōpura built by him as Bhuvanēkavīran Tiruvāśal.

3 BHINDHON PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA KAKKARAJA

K. V. Ramesh

This important set of copper plates was discovered in a field belonging to Shri Trimbak Dada Patil at Bhindhon, Aurangabad Tahsil and District, Maharashtra. The set is now deposited in the Department of History and Ancient Indian Culture, Marathwada University, Aurangabad.

A very tentative and extremely defective text of the charter has been published in the July-August 1978 issue of *Pratishṭhān*, the Marāṭhī bulletin of Marāṭhwāḍa Sāhitya Parishad along with an introductory article and plates in pp. 27-32. In view of the extreme importance of this charter for the early history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa, it is being re-edited here. Attention will be drawn in the sequel only to mistakes of a serious nature in the text as published in *Pratishṭhān*.

The set consists of three plates the second of which bears writing on both the sides while the first and third contain writings only on the inner sides. Each sheet measures 17 x 8.5 cm and the three plates together weigh 852 grams. At the top centre of each plate is a ring-hole, 1 cm in diametre, for the ring of the seal to pass through. The ends of the circular ring, which is 4 cm in diametre, are soldered into a seal which has a Nāgarī legend reading *Śrī-Pratāpaśīlasya* in two lines. On top of the legend is a symbol which is probably a *nandi-pāda*. The ring with the seal weighs 130 grams. The rims on both the sides of the middle plate are raised in order to ensure preservation of the writing.

The engraving is most indifferently executed necessitating the identification of many letters purely on the strength of the context in which they occur. There are in all 30 lines of writing which are distributed as follows: I, 8 lines; IIa, 8 lines; IIb, 7 lines and III, 7 lines.

The characters employed in the charter belong to what is commonly known as the Kuṭila or Siddhamātrikā script. In view of the developed nature of some of the letters, the script employed here may also be justifiably considered as proto-Nāgarī. The plates are not dated but may be assigned, on grounds of palaeography as well as the internal evidence furnished by the text, to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A. D. In spite of careless engraving, the letters in the charter under study may be generally compared with those in the Deobarnark inscription[1] of Jīvitagupta of the late 7th century A. D. and the Nālānda stone inscription[2] of Yaśōvarman of the early 8th century A. D. and more profitably with the Tiwarkheda plates[3] of Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja, issued in 631 A. D. and the Samangada plates[4] of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga, issued in 753 A. D. An interesting transitional feature noticed in

our charter is that, while the letters in the Tiwarkheda plates have short line head-marks and those in the Samangada plates have head-marks covering the entire breadth of the letters, the Bhindhon plates have a mixture of both these forms, though the incomplete head-marks are the more commonly used.

Of the initial vowels, *a* occurs twice in *api* (line 4) and *anya* (line 28). While the former is the curved type in which the lower hook is turned to the left, the latter, which roughly resembles the form of the letter *a* in the Jhālrāpāṭan inscription[5] of Durgagaṇa of the end of the 7th century A. D., may be described as the letter *ta*, with a prominent horizontal headmark, with a vertical line to its right connected by a horizontal stroke in the middle. Among palaeographical peculiarities, which may be attributed to the prevalence of scriptal variety in the region and during the period in question and not to the engraver's ineptness, the following deserve notice: Three varieties of the letter *ka* occur, viz., the one with a cursive left belly (as in *sakala*, line 2, *ṇaika*, line 4, *parikara*, line 6, etc.), another with the left belly formed in the shape of a triangle (as in *kūṭa* in line 7, *Kōḷā* in line 15 and *kartta* in line 25) and the third, the archaic form of a horizontal line cutting across a vertical line, but with a prominent horizontal head-mark (as in *kumbha* in line 5); so also, while employing *k* as superscript, the full form of the letter is engraved in *muktā* (line 5), *kshōbha* (line 14), etc., while only the cross, with the head mark, is found used in *vipaksha* (line 14), *kshamēṇa* (line 14), etc. As for the letter *ma*, while the more common variety used is the Kuṭila type with a marked loop at the left bottom as in the Tiwarkheda and Samangada plates, another variety, with what may be described as a tail-mark in the place of the loop, is also employed as in *svāminā* (line 21) and *matinā* (line 23). At least three varieties of the letter *śa*, each with its own minor variations, can be identified as in *śivaṁ* (line 3), *śīlaḥ* (line 11) and *śrī* (line 11).

The language employed in the charter is Sanskrit and, but for one invocatory and two imprecatory verses, the entire text is in prose. In marked contrast to the indifferent manner of engraving, the language is surprisingly free from errors, the four glaring departures being the spelling of *n=aika* (in line 4) as *ṇaika*, of *śaśāṅka*, as *śāśāṅga* (line 9), of *trishu* (in line 19) as *tṛishu* and of *sandhivigraha* (in line 22) as *san[dhi]vṛishabha*. It is almost certain that, in the last instance, the engraver had failed to follow the lines of the letters *vigraha* correctly and had thus mis-inscribed the word as *vṛishabha*. Attention may also be drawn to the word *paṅkajaḥ* (line 11) which actually reads as *pajkajaḥ* because of the addition of an unwanted horizontal stroke to the middle of the superscript *ṅ*. Among the noteworthy orthographical features may be mentioned the fact that the consonant following *r* is nowhere doubled.

The charter bears no date but, as has been pointed out above, may be assigned, on grounds of palaeography and historical evidence, to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A. D.

The object of the charter is to register the grant of the village Chiñchapallī

(boundaries specified) to the brāhmaṇa Bhānu-bhaṭṭa, the son of Kōḷa-śarma who belonged to the Vatsa-sagōtra and was a Kāṇva. The donor was Svāmirāja, the son of Durgarāja, and he is described as the follower of Pratāpaśīla-Kakkarāja, the son of Gōvindarāja of the Mahārāshṭra-kūṭa family. The grant was made for the growth of the merit of the donor.

The engraving in the first two lines is very shallow and many letters are totally worn out. However, it can be clearly made out that the first three lines contain a verse invoking the blessings of the god Hari (i.e. Vishṇu). Lines 4 to 7 and a part of line 8 introduce the illustrious (ruler) Gōvindarāja describing him as belonging to the Mahārāshṭrakūṭa family (or alternatively, as belonging to the great Rāshṭrakūṭa family) and as one who wears a garland of flowers jerked up by the fore-heads of rutting elephants felled by him with his great sword in numerous battles.

Part of line 8 and lines 9 to 11 as also the first letter of line 12 introduce Gōvindarāja's first son (*prathama-sūnuḥ*) Pratāpaśīla *alias* Kakkarāja and describe him as one who was, like the moon risen on the eastern hill, a source of pleasure to the whole world and whose feet were resplendent with the lustre of the precious stones embedded in the diadems of (subdued) kings.

The donor, the illustrious Svāmirāja is introduced in lines 12–14 as one capable of routing his enemies and as the son of the illustrious Durgarāja whose fame was ever radiant because of his ability to attract (the adherence of) consummate followers. Svāmirāja is further described as the follower (*anuchara*) of Kakkarāja.

As has been stated earlier, the grant portion, in lines 14–22, registers the grant of the village Chiñchapallī, in order to augment the merit of the donor Svāmirāja, to the brāhmaṇa Bhānu-bhaṭṭa, the son of Kōḷa-śarma of Vatsa-sagōtra, a Kāṇva. The grant was made with the ceremonial pouring of water. The gift village was bounded on the north by two *aśvattha* trees while, on the three remaining quarters, viz., the east, south and west, it was bounded by two rivers.

The grant thus made by Svāmirāja received the assent of his overlord (*parama-svāmi*) Kakkarāja when the latter was encamped at Piṅgalikā and the grant itself was made in the presence of the *sandhivigraha* and *purōhita*.

The prose passage in lines 23-25 enjoins that none should, either through instigation or by one's own self, or through rage or attachment, make bold to appropriate the village thus gifted. This is followed by two popular imprecatory verses attributed to Manu, the author of the *Dharma-śāstra* and the *smṛitis*.

The charter is of considerable importance to the early history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The *praśasti* portion introduces two generations of early Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers, viz. Gōvindarāja and his son Pratāpaśīla-Kakkarāja and two generations of their subordinates, viz. Durgarāja and his son Svāmirāja.

Of the above four, Gōvindarāja is the first of that name with whom many of the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters commence the

dynastic eulogy of that family. The Rāshṭrakūṭa *praśasti* alludes to Gōvinda in very general terms and proceeds to describe, also in very general terms, Kakkarāja, his son. From Kakkarāja's reference in the charter under study as the first son (*prathama-sūnu)* of Gōvindarāja, we understand for the first time that the latter had issues other than and younger to Kakkarāja.

A more important information furnished by our record pertains to the status enjoyed by Gōvinda and Kakka. On the strength of the mere conventional praise showered upon these two figures by the later Rāshṭrakūṭa charters, Fleet had concluded[6] that "it does not seem at all likely that either of them enjoyed any regal power". On the other hand, our charter furnishes direct evidence attesting to the rule of Kakkarāja in the Marathwada region and clearly attests to the regal status and stature of his father by describing him as *samprāpt-āśēsha-mahāśabdaḥ*. Also the usage of the word *samprāpta* implies that Gōvinda had, for the first time, gained the privilege of *aśēsha-mahāśabda*, suggesting thereby that his two known predecessors, Dantivarman and Indra (I), had not enjoyed that stature. It is this achievement of Gōvinda which must have induced his illustrious successors to consider him as the real founder of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty.

The region over which Gōvindarāja and his son established their hegemony is of considerable importance. The gift village Chiñchapallī may be identified with modern Chincholi (lat. 19 30', long. 76 15') near the eastern border of Aurangabad District. The village is bounded on the each and west by two rivulets which join the Gōdāvarī river flowing to the south, thus admirably conforming to the boundaries narrated in lines 19–20 of our charter. Piṅgalikā-taṭāka, where Kakkarāja was encamped at the time of endorsing the grant, may be identified with modern Pingli, situated to the south-east of Parbhani, the headquarters of the District of the same name, on the railway line connecting Parbhani with Nanded. It is thus obvious that Kakkarāja was ruling over the Aurangabad-Parbhani region in Marathwada at the time the Chiñchapallī grant was made.

This is in keeping with the historical information we already possess according to which the early activities of even Dantidurga, the grandson of Kakkarāja were confined to the areas on the banks of the Mahi, Narmadā and Mahānadī and that, only towards the closing years of his career, he succeeded in making inroads into the northern parts of Karnāṭaka. We should, therefore, assign the rule of Kakkarāja to the pre-Karnāṭaka phase of Rashṭrakūṭa history.

Though the present charter states that Gōvindarāja had gained the privilege of *aśēsha-mahāśabda* and also describes his son Kakkarāja as the *parama-svāmin* (overlord) of the donor Svāmirāja, neither father nor son is endowed with any royal title. We have, therefore, no means of knowing whether Kakkarāja was an independent ruler at the time of the issue of the charter. We come to know for the first time from the present record that Kakkarāja was also known as Pratāpaśīla. And the fact that the seal

bears the legend *śrī-Pratāpaśīlasya* proves that Kakkarāja was either entitled or powerful enough to issue charters on his own.

The donor Svāmirāja and his father Durgarāja are mentioned for the first time in our charter. Their brief eulogies can at best be stretched to imply that they had actively assisted the Rāshṭrakūṭa aspirants in their early military exertions which finally fetched for them imperial status.

The identification of the two place-names occurring in the record, viz. Chiñchapallī and Piṅgaḷikā-taṭāka has been discussed above.

TEXT[7]

[Meters : Verse 1 : *Āryā* ; verses 2-3 : *Anushṭubh*]

FIRST PLATE

1 . . . .
2 vēda-smṛiti-purāṇa-sakala-mukhēna svarbhānu . . . .
3 s-tuhin-āṅśu-vi(bi)mva(mba)-chandra-chakōra[ḥ*] kurutāt=sa Hariḥ śivam [॥*1]
4 api cha [।*]Ṇai(Nai) ka-mahā-samar-āsi-vinishā(pā)tita-matta-dvira-
5 da-ghana-ghaṭā-kumbha-sthal-ōchchhalita-muktā-phala-kara-ku-
6 suma-mālā-parikarita-[chihna]-lakshita-vapū(pu)-kaṇṭha-mā[laḥ]
7 Mē(Ma)hārāshṭrakūṭ-ānvayaḥ samprāpt-āśēsha-mahāśa[bdaḥ]
8 śri-Gōvindarājas=tasya cha prathama-sūnūr-uda-

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

9 [yādry-u]dita-śaśāṅga(ṅka) iva sakala-jagad-āhlāda-karaḥ
10 yugapan-n[ṛi]tyan-narapati-mukuṭa-maṇi-marīchi-mañjarī-sa-
11 mudyō(ddyō)tita-pāda-pajka(ṅka)jaḥ Pratāpaśīlaḥ śrī-Kakkarā-
12 jaḥ tasy-ānucharēṇa prakaṭa-paṭu-bhaṭ-ākṛishṭay-ōpā-
13 ja(rji)t-āvichchhinna-yaśa-prakāśasya śrī-Durgarājasya sū-
14 nunā vipaksha-kshōbha-kshamēṇa śrī-Svāmirājēna Va-
15 tsa-sagōtr-ānvayasya Kāṇvasya Kōḷaśarma-brāhma[ṇa]-
16 sya sutāya Bhānubhaṭṭāy-ātmanaḥ puṇy-ābhivṛi[ddha]-

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

17 yē Chiñchapallī-nāmadhēyō grāmō=daka-pūrvva[ṁ] kṛitvā
18 tasya cha sīmā-pārichchhittir=uttaratō=śvattha-yugala-
19 si(m-i)tarāsu pūrva[8]-dakshiṇa-paśchimāsu tṛi(tri)shv=api-di-

20 kshu nadī-yugala-parivēshṭitaḥ sa cha Piṅgalikā-
21 taṭāka=sthēna paramasvāminā śrī-Kakkarājēn-ā-
22 numōdita[ḥ] san[dhi]vṛishabha-purōhita-samakshaṁ datta[ḥ] [।*]
23 tasya na kēnachid=vidvaj=jana-janya-matinā v=ā-

THIRD PLATE

24 tman[ā] vā kṛiddhēna vā rāg-āvishṭēna vā na kēnachid-a-
25 sya grāmasy-āpaharaṇa(ṇē) buddhiḥ karttavy=ēti ॥ tathā
26 ch=ōkta Mānaka(va)-dharma-kṛitā smṛiti-kārēṇa । Va(Ba)ha(hu)bhi-
27 r=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ[।*] yasya ya-
28 sya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam[॥*2] Anyāsa(yē)-
29 na hṛi[ktyā](tā) bhūmir=anyāyēna tu hāritā[।*] harantō hārayata-
30 ś=cha bha[vaty-ā]saptamaṁ kulami(m ॥*3 i) ti ॥

Notes :-

1 *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 215-17 and plate.
2 Above, Vol. XX, pp. 43-44 and plate.
3 Above, Vol. XI, pp. 279-80 and plate.
4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 111-13 and plate.
5 G. H. Ojha: *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā, lipi-patra* 21.
6 *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 389.
7 From the original plates and inked estampages.
8 There is an unnecessary vertical stroke, with a headmark, engraved below the letter *rva*.

4 A FRAGMENTARY DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION OF PURNARAKHSITA

G. Bhattacharya

In the collection of medieval stone sculptures from Bihar-Bengal at the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, there is a fragment of a votive *chaitya* most probably from Bodhgayā (Museum No. MIK I 579)[1]. The fragment is of smooth, greyish black basalt which is generally known as Rājmahal slate because the stone came from the quarry of the Rājmahal Hills[2] at the border of Bihar and Bengal. The fragment is a part of the socle of a *chaitya* and it measures 83 cm in length. It shows on the upper part a row of nine seated figures of the Buddha, of which the face of the first, the head of the eighth and the head and upper body of the ninth figures are damaged. All the Buddhas sit in the *vajraparyaṅkāsana* attitude on a cushion marked with crossed lines. No lotus has been used as the seat. Of the nine figures the third and the seventh show the *dhyāna* or *samādhi-mudrā* and the rest the *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*.[3] The figures in the *dhyāna-* or *samādhi-mudrā* hold a pot on the palms.[4] The *uttarāsaṅga* of these two figures covers the while upper body while on the other figures it covers the left side of the upper body together with the left arm. The drapery of the Buddhas are in the Sārnāth style[5] and the navel mark is shown through it. All of them have a pointed *ushṇīsha* and the hair is styled in *dakshiṇāvarta* curls. All the nine Buddhas are no doubt the same Gautama Śākyamuni. The emphasis on the *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā* perhaps points to the place of its origin, namely Bodhgayā. All the Buddhas sit in a niche made of two short pillars surmounted by a trefoil arch. In between the arches there is each an ornamental floral design. The upper part of most of the niches is damaged. On a different moulding three triangular elements, the element which is common with the Buddhist art objects from Bihar, are shown each with an ornamental foliage with a disc inside. Perhaps it represents the *chakra-ratna* or the Jewel of Wheel. The socle is of *triratha* or three-tiered shape.

Below this moulding an inscription is written on another moulding. It is written in three lines. The third line contains a few letters only and the text ends at the left part of the moulding. Unfortunately the commencing letters of the third line are badly damaged. The *Siddham* symbol at the beginning and some of the letters at the beginning of the middle portion are also damaged. The size of each letter is approximately 1 cm but of the third line they are smaller. The engraving of the letters is clear and beautiful. But due to the carelessness of the scribe some portion of the text has been left out as we shall see later.

The characters of the record are *Gauḍīya* (or Eastern Indian) as D. C. Sircar will rightly call them following the statement of al-Birūṇī.[6] The characters belong

to the 11th century A. D. Of special interest is the formation of the letter *ha* in two different ways; in *griha*° in line 1 it is written in the usual way but in *mahī*° and °*maha*° in line 2 it looks like *ḍa* (see °*khaḍga*° in line 1). The *Siddham* symbol at the beginning looks like a note of interrogation but open to the right. Punctuation marks have been used with single and double vertical lines. The short vowel *i* in *iva* in line 2 has an interesting form.

As regards orthography it may be pointed out that the letters *cha*, *na*, *da* and *ma* have been doubled in connection with *ra*, but not *ya*. Final *ma* has been shown with *anusvāra* at the end of a verse (v. 2).

The record is written in Sanskrit and in four verses, of which some portion of verse two has been left out due to the carelessness of the scribe and some portion of the second half of verse four is damaged. Besides, the beginning of verse three is a faulty composition, which makes it difficult for the reader to follow the sense of the verse.

The epigraph opens with the *Siddham* symbol. Verse one does not mention the name of the person to whom it refers but praises the valour of him in high terms saying that he had fought many battles vanquishing with his sword the mighty war elephants of the enemies. But unfortunately the enemies have not been mentioned clearly by names. Verse two, which is partially left out, mentions that his courtyard was filled with rutting elephants. We are not in a position to say if these elephants were gifts of others or captured as a booty during the war. Verse three, which is a faulty composition, nevertheless gives the sense clearly that the person concerned was a great conqueror, who filled the directions with his fame, like the autumnal moon, who fills the directions with its rays. Finally, verse four, the second part of which is demaged, mentions the hero of the record as Pūrṇarakshita, the overlord of the *Sāmantas*, who was responsible for the religious gift, perhaps the votive *chaitya* in question. It is a pity that an important architectural term is perhaps missing in that damaged portion. Generally the art-historians use the term *stūpa* (or votive *stūpa*) in connection with the Buddhist architecture all over India with exception to the caves containing *stūpas* in Western India, where the caves are called *chaitya*-halls. In the records from Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa the term used in Prakrit for such structure is *chetiya* and not *thuba*[7]. In the collection of the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, there is a fragmentary, votive *chaitya* from Bodhgayā with an inscription in Sanskrit verse and in *Gauḍīya* characters of about the 11th century A. D., which describes the object of donation as a beautiful *chaitya* (MIK I No 783), *chaityō=*‘*yam-ati-sundaraḥ*. It is, therefore, possible to think that during the Pāla period in Bihar the socalled votive *stūpas* were really called *chaityas*.

It is indeed a paradox that in donating a *chaitya* in honour of the peace-loving, non-violent Buddha the donor Pūrṇarakshita allows his military prowess to be praised in high terms. It may sound to be a bad taste for us now, but in those days this was quite a fashion

and surely no one took any objection to that.

The donor Pūrṇarakshita appears for the first time in the political history of Bihar and therefore, needs some identification. He is called, *Sāmantādhipati* i. e., overlord of the feudatories, the common term to be found in the inscriptions being *Mahāsāmantādhipati.*[8] So far as our knowledge goes this is the solitary case where the expression *Sāmantādhipati* occurs in a record from Northern India.[9] The terms *Sāmantādhipati*, *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja* etc. denote the subordinate position of the person concerned.[10] And in that case Pūrṇarakshita was a subordinate official. But who could be his master?

The Sārnāth inscription of Kumaradēvī,[11] the queen of the Gāhaḍavāla ruler Gōvindachandra (1114-1155 A. D.) informs us that she was the daughter of *Pīṭhīpati* Dēvarakshita, who was the son of Vallabharāja, 'the lord of broad Pīṭhikā'.[12] Vallabharāja and his son, Dēvarakshita were also called Chikkōra-Sinda kings. They were local rulers with the headquarters around Vajrāsana.[13] The second part of the record informs us that Dēvarakshita was defeated by Mahaṇa, the maternal uncle of the Gauḍa king Rāmapāla (c. 1072-1126 A.D.)[14]. But Mahaṇa got his daughter Śaṅkarādēvī married to Dēvarakshita. Their daughter was Kumaradēvī.[15] This fact of the subjugation of Dēvarakshita by Mahaṇa is also corroborated by the commentary on the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin, the contemporary of the Pāla ruler Madanapāla (c. 1143 – 1161). The commentary explains the term *Pīṭhīpati* as 'lord of Magadha', which shows that Vallabharāja and his son Dēvarakshita were rulers of Magadha with Bodhgayā as their headquarters.[16] Dēvarakshita as a contemporary of both Mahaṇa and Rāmapāla, most probably did rule in the last quarter of the 11th century A. D. Unfortunately the commentary on the Rāmacharita or any other source does not mention the name of Pūrṇarakshita. From his namesake it appears that he might have been either a brother or a son. As the characters of our record are earlier to those of the Sārnāth inscription of Kumaradēvī it may be assumed that Pūrṇarakshita was perhaps a brother of Dēvarakshita and therefore, an uncle of Kumaradēvī. And as *Sāmantādhipati* he might have served his brother Dēvarakshita, the lord of Magadha. Hence like Dēvarakshita he was also an early contemporary of Rāmapāla.

TEXT[17]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Upajāti* ; verses 2 and 3 *Vaṁśastha* or *Vaṁśasthavila* ; verse 4 *Anushṭubh*].

Line 1 *Siddham*[18] *yat-khaḍgādhārā-dalit-ōru-kumbhā dvi[shat]-karīndrāḥ samar-āṅgaṇēshu*[19] ।
yat-pādayōr=argham - iva pradātuṁ prakī[rṇṇa]muktā-kusumāni pētuḥ ॥ [1*॥]
Gṛihāṅgaṇa[ṁ] yasya ca dāna-vāriṇā mad-āturaṇāṁ kariṇāñ=cha bhūyasā ।
saṁuchchhalad-vē-

2 . . . . . .[20] *yā kṛitaṁ ghanair=yā jan=aika-śray-ā[ku]laṁ*॥[2*॥] *mahībhujāṁ bhūr=mmahatī jaya-sriyāṁ*[21] *yaśōbhīr=indu-pru . mair=ddiśāṅganāḥ chakāra yaś=chandana-paṅkaj-ārchchitā niśāḥ śarannātha iva sva-dhāmabhiḥ*। [।3॥*] *Sāmantādhi-pati(ē)s-tasya Pūrṇṇarakshita-saṁ[jñi]naḥ* ॥[22]

3 .. .. *dhānidhēḥ* ॥[23]

Notes :-

1 I am thankful to professor Dr. H. Haertel, Director of the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, for his kind permission to publish the materials of the Museum.

2 Most of the sculptures of the medieval period from Bihar and Bengal are products of the Rājmahal slate. There are still remains of the old querries in these hills.

3 This shows that the object of donation, most probably, originated in Bodhgayā where the Buddha attained the *Bodhi*.

4 In that case the scene may represent the offering of honey by the monkey or simply the Vaiśālī scene.

5 In contrast to the Gandhāra or Mathurā style where the drapery of the Buddha is shown in folds in the Sārnāth style it is shown like wet-cloth, clinging to the body.

6 See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy and Palaeography* in the Journal of Ancient Indian History, Vol. IV, Parts 1-2, 1970-71, p. 120.

7 The expressions used are *mahāchetiya, chetiya-ghara* and *chetiya-khabha*, etc. See Vogel *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 17, 18 and Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, Nos. 1207, 1210, 1229 etc.

8 For *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Nārāyaṇavarman, see the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāladēva, *Ep. Ind.*, *Ibid* Vol. IV, p. 250.

9 The term *Sāmantādhipati* is given wrongly in the index of *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 391. It is *Mahāsāmantādhipati* occuring in the inscription of Vikramāditya VI, see p. 32, 33.

10 See Sircar, The emperor and the subordianate rulers, *Visva-Bharati*, (1982). p. 19, 20, 21, 23.

11 See Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 319ff. and plate.

12 See verses 3-6. *Pīṭhī* or *Pīṭhikā* as the *Vajrāsana-pīṭha* at Bodhgayā. *Pīṭhīpati* has been explained in the commentary of the *Rāmacharita* as *Magadhādhipa*, lord of Magadha or South Bihar. See Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 82.

13 The Ārmā inscription of the regnal year 14 of the Pāla ruler Madanapāla (c. 1143 - 1161) informs us that the *Pīthīpati*-Āchārya Dēvasēna had his territory including Western Monghyr. So after *Pīthīpatis* Vallabharāja, Dēvarakshita and Bhīmayaśas a family of Āchāryas became the rulers of Magadha. For a detailed description see Sircar, *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 42.

14 For the latest chronology of the Pāla rulers, see Sircar, *The Pāla chronology reconsidered* in ZDMG, Supplement, Vol. III, 2, pp. 964-69.

15 The name Kumaradēvī has been wrongly mentioned by R. D. Banerji as Kumāradēvī in *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 46 and by some of the other historians. But Sircar with his usual carefulness uses the correct term. See Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 83. It is really very interesting to note that in both the cases where the name Kumaradēvī occurs in the Sārnāth inscription the metre *Vasantatilakā* needs a short syllable for *ma* in *Kumara*, See verses 10 and 20.

16 For the discussion on the Sāranāth inscription, see also Sircar, op. cit.

17 From impressions. In the plate accompanying this article the record is shown in three parts.

18 Expressed by a symbol.

19 The medial vowel *u* in *shu* is not clear in the photo of the impression.

20 This portion has completely been omited by the scribe, or might have been written on the other side of the sculpture which is missing.

21 The text is grammatically wrong.

22 The double *daṇḍa* is put wrongly here.

23 This portion occurs in the fragment on top.

5 NOTES ON SUGRIHITA-NAMAN

S. P. Tewari

The curious term *Sugṛihīta-nāman* which is related to the realm of ancient Indian Official, dramatic and non-dramatic etiquette, figures for the first time as a mark of an official etiquette in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. The relevant lines of the record where this term figures for more than once in connection with the genealogy of Rudradāman, read as follows :

"*.......Tad-idaṁ rājñō mahākshatrapasya sugṛihīta-nāmnaḥ Svāmi Chashṭanasya pautra-[sya rājñaḥ kshatrapasya sugṛihīta-nāmnaḥ Svāmi Jayadāmna]ḥ putrasya rājñō mahā-kshatrapasya gurubhīr = abhyasta - nāmnō Rudradāmnō.........*"[1]

The inscription being of considerable interest, particularly for the fact that it enjoys the unsurpassed credit of being the earliest lithic record composed in a chaste classical Sanskrit, diverted the attention of almost every lover of Sanskrit literature, right from the day of its discovery. Since 1838, wheh it was first edited with a translation and small lithograph by James Princep, continuosly for a period of more than seven decades, the attempts were on in improving upon its reading and also the translation of the text in general and the interpretations of some of its knotty terms in particular.[2] Though the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* its exact meaning and also the appropriate application of which we plan to reconsider here, on account of its familiar and the respectful meaning may certainly not be classified in the category of knotty terms, the particular application of this term and also its meaning to some rather far-fetched conclusions by Levi are the facts which demand our immediate attention here.

Before referring to the views of Levi in this regard and the conclusions he has drawn, it will not be out of place to have a cursory look at the rendering offered to the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* by the scholars before and after Levi. It is also necessary for balancing in our conclusions.

Sugṛihīta-nāmā James Princep and his associate Pandit Kamalakanta who have rendered the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* into one 'who was named'[3] so, were certainly not keen to go deeper into the the subtleties of this term since they were occupied with the matters of bigger issues. Later-on, Wilson while revising the said translation of Princep rendered the same term as 'of well selected name'[4]. Though in the subsequent years of 1862[5] and 1876[6] a great advance in the reading and the interpretation of the inscription was made by Bhau Daji and Eggeling, since the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* did not pose much problem either on the part of its reading or the interpretation, it was rendered into more or less the same way as above. Two years later when Bhagvanlal Indraji's own text and translation was published under the editorship of Bühler, in *Indian Antiquary*[7] he explained the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* as one 'whose name is of auspicious import'.

The same rendering of the term with a slight moderation, was once again confirmed by Bühler in the year 1890, when he produced the text of the record and a translation of a part of it in his famous essay written in German.[8] What he rendered into German could be translated as the one 'the utterance of whose name brings salvation'[9]. It was in this sequel that Levi, dealt with not the inscription of Rudradāman as a whole, but the actual purport of the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* along with some other terms referred into the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas.[10]

Although as a matter of chronological sequence, it would have been better to review the article of Levi right now, since the inscription has been re-edited with an elaborate translation covering so many terms at a greater length by Kielhorn who coincidentally also adheres more to the views of previous scholars than that of Levi in the matters such as the one under discussion, it will not be improper to consider the opinion of Kielhorn as well, in this regard.

Kielhorn, while referring to the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* renders it into one 'the taking of whose name is auspicious'.[11] In order to substantiate his point, he also adds a note to his translation where, on the authority of good number of literary references to this term noticed in the text of *Harsha Charita* (to which we will have a recourse later) he demonstrates fully well the actual sense of the verb *grahaṇa* or *sugrahaṇa* and its forms like *gṛihīta* or *sugṛihīta* being that of 'receiving, uttering or taking of' etc.,[12]

Having glanced at the antiquity of the epigraphical reference to the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* and its interpretations, now it is occasion to proceed with the hypothesis of Levi.

Sugṛihīta-nāmā Levi in his brilliant paper on the theme presented in a most cogent, fluent and charming language, first of all expresses his partial discord with the interpretation of the term offered by others including Bōhtling in general and that of Bühler in particular According to him, 'the exact sense of this expression too often rendered by rather vague formulae (of auspicious name, auspiciously named etc.) seems capable of being more clearly expressed'.[13] In order to demonstrate how clearly the phrase *sugṛihīta-nāman* can be expressed Levi makes a commendable effort to survey the major part of Sanskrit literature and quote the references to *sugṛihīta-nāman* from the various texts. Since, at many places, with all regards to the learned Professor, he has not only quoted the extracts from the texts, but in some cases he has rather misquoted and in few cases even misrepresented the views of the original authors, we deem it proper to review the whole issue one after the other.

With the ulterior motive of arriving at his final remark that 'it must have been in the time and the court of the Kshatrapas that the vocabulary, the technique and the first examples of the Sanskrit drama and everything connected with it were established'[14] he asserts that the term '*sugṛihīta-nāman* like *svāmin* and *bhadramukha*, (all the terms which figure as an honorific tittle in the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas) belong to the formulary of the theatre and things relating to it !'[15]

Though the fact is that besides the words *svāmin* and *bhadramukha*, the definition of the word *sugṛihīta-nāman* is not found in the actual text of Bharata at all. It is much later (later from both the date of the inscription of Rudradāman and the period of Bharata) that the reference to this term is noticed in the Daśarūpa[17] of Dhanañjaya and the Sāhitya-darpaṇa of Viśvanātha, which Prof. Levi quotes in support, and to say the least, which gives an indirect impression as if both the texts, as regards their chronological sequence, fall next in line with the *Nāṭya-śāstra*. That is misleading. The fact is that although the works of both Dhanañjaya and Viśvanātha deal with the same theme as that of Bharata, the more direct inspirations they have drawn or the informations they have gathered for the purposes of poetic codifications hail, in the terms of ratio, more from the works of the literatures who preceded them in the recent past and comparatively lesser from Bharata. The very fact that they include the terms like *sugṛihīta-nāman* in their works which is not referred to by Bharata at all, once more confirms the idea that they would have come to learn of this term from the works better known to them.

Further on Levi, while discording the interpretation of the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* given by Bühler and found in confirmity with the *Petersburg Dictionary* also, rejects the explanation of the term given in the dictionary as well as its source material[18]. As we know (and Levi also cites) the first edition of the *Petersburg Dictionary* while explaining the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* cites the definition of the same from the *Trikāṇḍaśēsha* as follows :

"..........*yaḥ prātaḥ smaryatē śubhakāmyayā sa sugṛihītanāmā syāt*................"[19].

It says that the *sugṛihītanāmā* is a person whom one recalls in the morning with a kindly intention. 'But examination of the examples', says Levi 'which I am going to cite, proves beyond doubt that the text of the *kōsha* is faulty, whoever may be responsible for the fault, and that it must be corrected thus : ....*yaḥ prētaḥ smaryatē*...........i. e. the *sugṛihīta-nāman* is a deceased person whom one remembers with favour'.[20]

The anomaly of the afore-mentioned statement of Levi is that it finds fault with almost everything without detailing the specific reason for it. He not only disagrees with the interpretation of Bühler or questions the authenticity of the dictionary which according to him, did not care to check the proper text of the quotation cited, but also for the reasons better known to him, discords the presently available version of the *Kōśa* and its Sanskrit commentary as well.[21]

The fallacy of Levi's argument that *prātaḥ-smaryatē* should be corrected as *prētaḥ-smaryatē* is such that it could hardly be approved of. It falls altogether contrary to the established norms of age-old Indian culture where, to recall one's elders with all due regards in the morning (and even otherwise) is not considered only as a part of etiquette but rather a pious duty or an unfailing obligation. Even a casual look at the mass of verses available on the theme of *prātaḥ-smaraṇa*[22] will suffice to make one feel convinced.

Coming to the examples (part of Levi's statement) which he prefers to cite in order

to show a preference for the (so to say) funeral meaning of the honorific tittle *sugṛihita-nāman*, we can visualize them in the following order.

1. Having remarked that 'the authentic works of Bāṇa show a preference for the (so to say) funeral meaning of the title he gathers following quotations in his support :

   a) From the *Kādambari* where Śuka after the death of his father remarks that 'if I breath when my father *sugṛihītanāman* is dead (*ēvam uparatē=pi sugṛihīta nāmni tātē yad-aham.... prāṇimi*).[23]

   b) Mahāśvetā, recalling her dead husband, designates him by these words : *Dēvasya sugṛihīta-nāmnaḥ Puṇḍarīkasya (smaranti) dēvaḥ sugṛihīta-nāmā Puṇḍarikaḥ.*[24]

   c) In the *Harshacharita*, Rājyavardhana refers to his grand-father as under : *Tāten=aiva.......sugṛihīta-nāmni tatra bhavati parāsutām gatē pitari kiṁ n=ākāri rājyam*[25] i. e. did our father not take the government in hand on the death of his *sugṛihita-nāman* father ?

   d) So, also, the king Harsha himself remembering his deceased brother-in-law, in the same way attaches the epithet to his name: *Tatra bhavataḥ sugṛihītanāmaḥ svargatasya Grahavarmaṇaḥ bālamitram*[26].

2. In the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of A. D. 602 the geneology of Mangaleśa, allots the title *sugṛihīta nāmadhēya* to his grand father Raṇarāga.[27]

3. In the *Rājataranginī* the demise of king Lalitāditya is reported by his Prime-Minister as follows :

   Sugṛihīt-ābhidhō rājā gataḥ sa sukṛitī divam[28] i. e. 'the king *sugṛihītābhidha*, the beneficient has gone to heaven.'

Before taking up the review of Levi's aim at citing the above references to the term *sugṛihita-nāman* (which all figure in the context of 'funeral meaning' and to which a few more can further be added) it is worth noticing the references to the term in the contexts of non-funeral meaning, he himself cites (to which we will have a recourse later) far exceed in number than the one cited above.

Coming to Levi's aim at citing the above references with an added preference for the funeral meaning of the title, we at once, notice the point that he wants to bring home. It is nothing but to remind us with stress that the original sense of the title *sugṛihīta-nāmā* is the same as the one expressed in the inscription of Rudradāman *in whose court for the first time everything of literary Sanskrit was introduced and established.*[29]

It is in the same sequel and with the same purpose in mind that he explains the significance of the verb *grah* and says that this verb 'which generally signifies 'to take', signifies when associated with the words such as *nāman*, to use, mention or cite'.[30] Here, one may have no objection as for the meaning of the verb *grah* in association with *nāman* being using, mentioning or citing of the name is concerned, because it is in perfect agreement with the interpretations of the scholars we have cited above, but what Levi puts forth as an example to

illustrate his points, certainly seems to be far from the mark.

In order to illustrate his view of the 'mention of the name' he quotes the following verse from the *Uttara Rāmacharita* where Rāma having just resolved to put away Sitā, invokes the Earth, Sugrīva and others and adds: *Tē hi manyē mahātmānaḥ kṛitaghnēna durātmanā. Mayāgṛihīta nāmānaḥ spṛiśyanta iva pāpmanā*[31] "But, indeed I think that those great ones are contaminated by having their names mentioned by me (who is) so ungrateful and wicked.[32]

Here, the very association of the word *gṛihīta* (a form of the verb *grah*) with *Nāmānaḥ* as far we understand, does not make any note-worthy difference unless we think that by applying the word 'mention', Levi has something more subtle in mind which might convey the sense contrary to the honourable mention of a name. As far we could ascertain, there is no such instruction in the Sanskrit grammar also which says that the verb *grah* when associated with the words like *nāman* should signify the sense of *jugupsā* (abhorrence) or *ākrōśa* (abuse, calumination or dishonour). What we understand is that, *nāma-grahaṇa* was an act of addressing any one whereas *sugṛihīta-nāma* was a particular phrase used only when the elders and the respectable ones were to be addressed. This is why the very fact that how one comes to know of his name is described as *bhūyaḥ śravaṇēna nāma-grahaṇam*[33] i. e. by constantly being addressed by the same name (or the appelation) one succeeds in receiving, taking or grasping his name.

Regarding the usage of the term *gṛihīta-nāmānaḥ* from Bhavabhūti, Levi has not only taken it as a custom contrary to *sugrahaṇa* but has also gone further in substantiating his views with the help of a prescription from Manu. He believes that the idea attached to the 'mention of the name' is the same which is ordained by Manu who says that 'an iron nail, ten inches long and red hot must be driven into the mouth of him who mentions insultingly the names and caste of the twice-born' : *Nāma-jātigraham tv-ēshām-abhidrōhēṇa kurvataḥ. Nikshēpy-ayōmayaḥ śaṅkur-jvalann-āsyē daśāngulaḥ.* Further on, while stressing at the same issue he also cites the examples forwarded by the commentator (Medhātithi) on the above[35]. Need not to say that Levi finds both the expression *mayā gṛihītanāmānaḥ* of Bhavabhūti and *nāma-jātigraham tv-ēshām-abhidrōhēṇa kurvataḥ* of Manu as analogous. But the analogy apart, the interpreation he gives to both the phrases, does not seem tenable.

In case of Rāma's statement in the *Uttara Rāmacharita* what is meant is not that since Rāma while recalling the abovesaid personnels mentioned them with the phrase *gṛihīta-nāmānaḥ* they became contaminated (the meaning which Levi wants us to believe) but because of Rama himself who thinks that 'I am so sinful that if I were to take their names, sin belonging to me would, as if, attach itself to them.[36]

Likewise in the prescription of Manu the emphasis is not actually laid on the phrase *nāma-jātigraham* which Levi wants to highlight, but on the phrase *abhidrōhēṇa* (meaning insultingly). This is also made clear by the commentary which Levi seems to have only half consulted or atleast he has quoted only the half of it. The

commentary of Mēdhātithi, on the above verse from Manu reads as follows : *Nirupapadaṁ nāma-gṛihṇāti kutsā prayōgēna vā 'Dēvadattakēti' ; Abhidrōhēṇa krōdhēna na praṇayēna*[37]. It says that the aforementioned punishment should be given to the person who mentions the name or the caste of (a twice-born) with insult or arrogance and not with honour and affection. Had he mentioned the name with honour and affection (*praṇayēna*) there was no need for the prescription as above.

Thus, we find that the emphasis is laid in both the cases only on the terms like *kṛitaghnēna*, *durātmanā*, *mayā pāpmanā* and *abhidrōhēṇa* but not the least on the terms like *gṛihīta-nāmānaḥ* or the *nāma-jāti-graham* which Levi wants us to believe and which also forms the bone of his contention.

Based on the above contentions, Levi lands at the following conclusion. He says that 'the *sugrahaṇa* is the contrary (contrary to *gṛihīta-nāma* and *nāma-graha*) custom ; it is to mention the name of a person, (and) more specially a dead person.[38]

Apart from the fallacy of his argument on which the above conclusion is based, the statement is also not borne out by the literary references to the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* (where the custom of *sugrahaṇa* is directly involved) a good number of which Levi himself has cited above,[39] and also from a few more which will follow in the sequel.

The *Mṛichchhakaṭikam* of Śūdraka to which, even on the analogy of Levi (because it refers to the terms like *bhadra-mukha* and *rāshṭriya*[40] etc.) a date falling nearer to the date of Rudradāman may be assigned refers to it's hero Chārudatta more than once with the honorific title of *Sugṛihīta-nāmā* or *Sugṛihīta nāmadhēya*. Herein, first of all the courtesan Vasantasēnā demands from her servant Madanikā the name of a person whom she has met and Madanikā replies :

sokkhu ajjue sugahida-ṇāmaheyo ajja Chārudatto nāma[41] i. e. My lady ! he, of auspicious name, is called the noble Chārudatta'. We find it used again in the same manner by the mother of Vasantasēnā when the judge asks her the name of the friend of her daughter :

so kkhu satthavāha viṇadattassa ṇattio, Sāaradattassa taṇao, sugahidaṇāmaheyo ajja Chārudatto ṇāma.[42] i. e. "it is the grandson of Sārthavāha Vinayadatta, the son of Sāgardatta, the noble Chārudatta *sugṛihīta-nāmadhēya*''. A point worthy of note here is that the appellation *sugrihīta-nāman* is used only in case of Chārudatta and not in case of his ancestors. Whereas if we rely on the hypothesis of Levi, who says that 'all the early writers of dramas of the fictions must have borrowed such terms from the records of the Kshatrapas and *sugrahaṇa* is to mention more specially the name of a dead person', the title *sugṛihīta-nāman* by Śūdraka must have been applied for the ancestors of Chārudatta first who were dead, which is not the case. Not only this but Śūdraka, as if he anticipated in advance that someday a doubt regarding his originality and the real purport of the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* will be raised, has taken every care to substantiate the basic concept of the term. Therefore, at a later

stage when the servant of Vasantasēnā asks the name of the master of Saṁvāhaka, he replies thus :

Ṡlāghanīya nāmadhēya ārya Chārudattō nāma[43] (i. e. He, of auspicious name is called the noble Chārudatta) and with this, when Vasantasēnā gets thrilled and asks her maid to give him a seat immediately, Saṁvāhaka starts wondering in himself and thinks : *Katham ārya Chārudattasya nāma-saṅkīrtanam-ēdṛiṡō me ādaraḥ* (How ! by the mere mention of the noble Chārudatta's name they are showing me so much respect). Likewise, even later also Śūdraka, by referring to Chārudatta with such appellations as *tatra bhavānś-Chārudatta*[45] (i. e. his honour Chārudatta) : *Śri Chārudatta*[46] and *dharma nidhiś-Chārudatta*[47] (i. e. Chārudatta, the store or righteousness) repeatedly, wants to bring the same point home that a *sugṛihīta-nāman* is one 'whose name is of auspicious import' or 'the utterance of whose name brings good luck' as it virtually did in case of the Saṁvāhaka of Chārudatta.

Viśākhadatta the author of *Mudrārākshasa* who, as Levi himself remarks, is inspired by the *Mṛichchhakaṭikam*, has referred to the tittle of *sugṛihīta-nāman* with the same import. Śārṅgarava the deciple of Chāṇakya here, who has been asked the name of the master of the house replies :

"*asmākam upādhyāyasya sugṛihīta-nāmnārya Chāṇakyasya*"[48] i. e. 'it is our master the noble Chāṇakya *Sugṛihīta-nāman*'. On another occasion, in the same drama, the Chamberlain, in proclaiming the royal command, expresses himself thus :

"*Sugṛihīta-nāmā devaś = Chandraguptaḥ samājñāpayati*"[49] 'His majesty Chandragupta, *sugṛihīta-nāman* desires it".

Coming to the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa and enquiring such references to this title as we have not referred to above, a number of instances are noticed. At the very outset, in the *Harshacharita*, Vikukshi the personal attendant of king Śaryāta, introduces himself with due regard to his master as under : "*Mām=api tasya dēvasya sugṛihīta-nāmnaḥ Śaryātasya ājñākāriṇam bhṛityam=avadhārayatu bhavati*"[50] i. e. 'know that I am the humble servant of the *sugṛihīta-nāman* Śaryāta'. Then, follows the context where Bāṇa comes to see the king Harsha for the first time. This particular reference to the term *sugṛihīta-nāman*, because of it's poignancy on account of some extra phrases added to it, seems to be one of the most appropriate usages of this term, we have witnessed so far. Moreover, it has also the credit of being couched with Bāṇa's personal experience which he renders thus :

Dṛishṭvā ch- ānugṛihīta iva nigṛihīta iva sābhilāsha iva tṛipta iva romāñchamucha mukhēna muñchann-ānanda-vāshpavāri-bindūn-dūrād-ēva vismaya smēraḥ samachintayat-sō=yam sujanmā, sugṛihīta-nāmā, tējasāṁ rāśiḥ . . . . dēvaḥ paramēśvarō Harshaḥ[51] i. e. 'having seen him, feeling as it were, at once blessed (by the mere sight) and checked (by the august appearance of the king), full of desire and yet satisfied with his face horripilated with awe, and with tears of joy falling from his eys, Bāṇa stood at a distance smiling in wonder and pondered, "This, then is the emperor Śri Harsha, that

union of seperate glories - noble in birth and of well-chosen auspicious name"[52] So again, though not that elaborated, Bāṇa connects the same title with Harsha himself, when his hearers at home press him to relate the history of that king :

asya sugṛihītānāmnaḥ puṇyarāśēḥ . . . . charitam ichchhāmaḥ śrōtum[53] . . . i.e. 'we wish to hear the achievements . . . . . . of this *Sugṛihīta-nāman* who is rich in merit.'

Further, Bāṇa again refers to the same title and that too with reference to king Harsha only when Rājyaśri is on the point of mounting the funeral pile and Kurangikā (one of her maids) reports the unexpected arrival of Harsha. Rājyaśri says:

Kuraṅgikē kēna sugṛihītanāmnō nāma gṛihitam-amṛitamayam-āryasya[54] - 'O Kurangikā ! who is that who has uttered the ambrosial name of our lord, *sugṛihīta-nāman* ?'

Having referred to the name, taking of which brings good luck and merit, Bāṇa tries to focus on the same, this time by showing the negative side of it. This figures with reference to the news of the sad demise of Grahavarman which the messengar wants to break without willing to utter the name of the miscreant :

Nām-āpi gṛiḥṇatō=sya pāpakāriṇaḥ pāpamalēna lipyata iva mē jihvā[55] i.e. 'as I take merely the name of this miscreant my tongue seems soiled with a smirch of sin'. Indirectly, it means that though generally there is no harm in merely uttering some one's name, this fellow is such a miscreant that in his case even the utterance of his name (*nam-āpi gṛihṇatō*) may soil one's tongue with a smirch of sin.

After going through a good number of literary references to the title *sugṛihīta-nāman* it is time to recall the basic issues raised by Levi, mainly for the purpose of arriving at our conclusions. The major issue raised by Levi to which we have also referred to earlier but only partialy is that 'before becoming fixed, with the stiffness of dead forms, in the vocabulary of theatrical and literary conventions, these titles (like *sugṛihīta-nāman* and others) have, of necessity, done duty in actual life. The first writers who transported them into the domain of fiction, did not invent them, thanks to the miracle of a chance coincidence; nor did they go and exhume them out of the past, with an archaeological care which India has never known; they borrowed them from current language and bequeathed them to their successors who have preserved them with pious fidelity, whilst political events were transforming the official protocol around them.'[56]

As a supplement to this major issue, Levi has, particularly in regard with the title *sugṛihīta-nāman* also raised two minor issues. One is that 'the verb *grah* signifies when associated with the words such as *nāman*, (the sense) of using, mentioning or citing the name' (which is) the custom contrary to that of *sugrahaṇa*.[57]

The other issue is that 'the real import of *sugrahaṇa* is to mention the name of a person, *more specially a dead person*[58].

Regarding the first issue, we have already shown (partialy) the fallacy of

Levi's hypothesis which gets fully disapproved once we go through the references from the *Harsha Charita*, we have cited above. Bāṇa has very clearly, though figuratively demonstrated the fact that the association of the verb *grah* with words such as *nāman* is not contrary to the custom of *sugrahaṇa*. It is, as if to convince those, who have any doubt, he makes a full swing of the various usages and the associations of the verb *grah*. This is why once before coming to *sugṛihīta* he exhausts all other such words as *anugṛihīta* and *nigṛihīta*(*iva*)[59] and the next time, having uttered the title *sugṛihīta-nāmnō* he adds as *nāma-gṛihītam amṛita-mayam āryasya*.[60] This demonstrates fully well, that Bāṇa was cautious enough (in it's use) and conversant well with the meaning and other subtleties of the verb *grah*, certainly more than us, and if we are permitted to say, even more than the *sugṛihīta-nāmā* Professor Levi.

Coming to the second issue raised by Levi, the only thing we have discussed so far, is the impropriety of his correction of the term *prātaḥ smaryatē* as *prētaḥ smaryatē* which to the best of our understanding, he has done without any rhym or reason. In fact, if we adhere to the suggestion of Levi, all those who have been referred to as *Sugṛihīta-nāman* above, will fall in the category of *prētas*, which is not true. The meaning of the term *prēta* as it is construed in the texts of the *dharma-sāstras*[61] will not suit even to those whom Levi himself has (and rightly so) held in high esteem.

Levi's other statement that 'the examination of the examples he will cite will ap(prove) the amendment beyond doubt,' is also not proved beyond doubt. It will be an exercise in vain to count the number of examples Levi has cited either in support of his interpretation of the title *sugṛihīta-nāman* with it's funeral meaning or for the sake of his preference that '*sugrahaṇa* is to mention specially the name of a dead person', because in both the cases examples do not suffice to bring the point home. Even if the examples were gathered at random a fact which may not be denied, the examples where the appellation *sugṛihīta-nāman* is used in case of living dignitaries, far exceed in number than that of the dead personnels. However, from the observation of all the examples cited, what comes out as a fact is not that what Levi has tried to emphasize, but what Kielhorn and others have explained without making much of the reference. In the opinion of Kielhorn '*sugṛihīta-nāman* is an honourable title, applied to royal or noble personages, *both living and deceased*'.[62]

By all means and in all the cases no enigma such as that 'the title *sugṛihīta-nāman* is meant specially for the dead personages' was ever attached to this title. At least this is true in case of all the works Levi himself has referred to. Had there been any such enigma attached with the term *sugṛihīta-nāman* the maid of Vasanta-sēnā would have never dared to apply it with the name of Chārudatta the beloved of her own mistress, nor the favourite disciple of Chāṇakya would have ever deemed it proper to address his own teacher as *sugṛihīta-nāman* and made him dead ?. The same argument with even an added force applies in case of Bāṇa also.

Could it, under any logic be deemed proper that Bāṇa who styles himself as the one who came to see Harsha for seeking favour (*kālyāṇ-ābhinivēśī*)[63] will be as ignorant as to use the title *sugṛihīta-nāman* for his master when, it was meant specially for addressing the dead persons ?

Finally, regarding the major issue raised by Levi (we have quoted above) our humble submission may be construed as follows :

I) There is no denying the fact that the titles like *sugṛihīta-nāman* and others, before becoming fixed, in the vocabulary of theatrical and literary conventions, have, of necessity, done their duty in actual life. Only thing we may like to add here is that the span of the actual life did not begin with the record engraved in 150 A. D. nor did it remain confined to the life span (and also the domain) of its issuer ?

II) There can also not be two opinions about the fact that 'the first writers who transported them into the domain of fiction did not invent them' but to presume that the occurance of such titles on the body of the record is only due 'to the miracle of a chance coincidence' will certainly be too much of a chance, particularly in case of language and literature.

III) Having said that the early writers who have referred the above mentioned title(s) did not invent them, to say again, that 'they also did not go and exhume them out of the past' becomes self contradictory. Further on, even if we believe that 'they (the early writers) borrowed such words from current language' which is not impossible, nor strange, it is certainly strange to believe that the users of the current language on their part inherited the same out of a miraculous chance coincidence. In our opinion, the theory of 'miracle of a change coincidence' as regards a language which originates, grows further and attains a developed stage, may hardly get an universal approval, more so in the context of Sanskrit which, as agreed on all hands, was already having a well systematized grammer (that always follows once the language is grown) of its own much before the 'miracle' in the form of Rudradāman's record took place.

IV) The statement of Levi that having once borrowed such titles and the terms from the current language, the early writers 'bequeathed them to their successors who have preserved them with pious fidelity', suffers with more than one lacuna. The first is that if the early writers (early in the sense that their works are known to us) could borrow things from the current language and bequeath the same to their successors, how it is not possible that the predecessors of the early writers also would have not done the same? The second lacuna closely linked with the first one is that the early writers did not borrow it from the past because of their lacking on the part of 'archaeological care' which according to Levi 'India has never known'.[64] We, on our part, consider the above remark of Levi more as a mark of the fashion which was very much in vogue at the time the learned professor wrote and less as a part of argument which lacks even a slender base for it's support. However, our humble submission to the charge of

learned professor is that India as regards the archaeological care in the field of language and literature, particularly the words, their etymology and the antiquity, fares far better (and it did fare earlier also) than any other country of the world (and it's language) elsewhere. Otherwise, how it was possible on the part of the successors of the early writers to *'preserve'* the thing they got in succession *'with pious fidelty'* – a fact which Levi himself admits.[65]

Having thus examined all the pros and cons of Levi's hypothesis in general and his views regarding the honorific title of *Sugṛihīta-nāman* in particular, we can sum up the whole issue, in full agreement with Kane who had though chance enough to examine the views of Levi regarding the date of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* but unfortunately had no time and space enough at his disposal to elaborate his remarks at length and sound his disagreement with Levi. Since Kane did not elaborate his points (which, we have tried to do here to some extent) some of the later researchers on the *Nāṭya-śāstra*[66] have taken him lightly. But, we are sure, if the whole issue is reviewed in it's entirety taking also the points that we have raised into account, the real force of Kane's remark will certainly be realized.

Kane while referring to the date of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in his introduction to the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* of Viśvanātha reviews the main burden of Levi's arguments as follows:

"“- - - - - - - - - - -. Inspite of the brilliant manner in which the arguments are advanced, and the vigour and confidence with which they are set forth, the theory that the Sanskrit theatre came into existence at the court of the Kshatrapas and the supplanting of the Prākṛits by classical Sanskrit was led by the foreign Kshatrapas appears, to say the least, to be an imposing structure built upon very slender foundations. An obvious reply is that the inscription was composed by one who was thoroughly imbued with the dramatic terminology contained in the *Nāṭya-sāstra*".[67]

Notes :-

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 42. lines 3, 4 and foot note 14 wherein it's editor Prof. Kielhorn has filled up the lacuna in the text.

2 *Ibid.*, introduction, pp. 36–37 and the references cited therein.

3 *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, (edited) by E. Thomas, London 1858, Vol. II p. 58.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 68 Revised translation of the Sāh inscription on the Girnār rock by H. H. Wilson.

5 *Journal Bombay branch of Asiatic Soc.*, Vol. VII, p. 118 ff.

6 *Archaeological Survey of Western India* report Vol. II, p. 128 ff.

7 *Ind, Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 261.

8 *Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpossie* (Berlin) 1890, p. 53.

9 *Ibid.*, see also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 53.

10 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII pp. 163–174. Though the original article of Levi was written in French which appeared first in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1902, part I, pp. 95–125, we, having no access to that language and the journal, are referring only to the English translation (done under the direction of Burgess) of that paper titled as *'Some terms in the Kshatrapa inscriptions'*.

11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 46.

12 *Ibid.*, note 1.

13 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 167.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 169.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

16 *Daśarūpa* ii, 63 defines the term *sugṛihītābhidha* as follows :
Rathī sūtēna ch-āyushmān pūjyaiḥ śishy-ātmaj-ānujāḥ. Vats-ēti tātaḥ pūjyō= pi sugṛihītābhidhas-tu taiḥ Api śabdāt pūjyēna śishy-ātmaj-ānujās-tāt-ēti vāchyaḥ sō= pi tais = tat-ēti sugṛihīta nāma ch-ēti.

17 *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* 431. defines it as *sugṛihīt-ābhidhaḥ pūjyaḥ śishy-ādyair-vinigadyatē.*

18 Levi, *op. cit.* pp. 165-66.

19 *The Trikāṇḍaśēsha* by Purushōttamadēva, with the commentary called *Sārārtha chandrikā*, Bombay 1916, II, 7. 27–28. Since we have not been able to check the entry in the *Petersberg Dictionary* ourselves, we are not sure as to what edition of the *kōśa* waş followed by Bohtling and subsequently by Levi if he referred to the *kōśa* himself as he has not cited such details in his paper.

20 Levi, *op. cit.* p. 166.

21 The commentary of *Trikāṇḍaśēsha* (op. cit) explains the term *sugṛihītanāmā* as the address of *śubha-kāmyayā prātaḥ smaraṇīyasya puṇya-kīrtanasya janasya*, which we doubt whether Levi has cared to see or if he has seen it he has certainly not taken note of it.

22 See *Monier Williams* under the entry *prātaḥ(smaraṇa)* and the select references cited theirin.

23 *The Kādambari of Bāṇabhaṭṭa* ed. by Parab. K. P. with the commentary of Bhānuchandra, N.S.P. Bombay 1921 p. 69, l. 9. cf. commentary which explains the word *sugṛihītanāmni* as *sugṛihītaṁ sarvadā grahaṇa yōgyaṁ nāma* i. e., whether alive or dead, it is an honorific term which always precedes the names of elders'.

24 *Ibid.* (Ed. by Perterson, Bombay), p. 308, lines 18 and 22. We regret that we could not locate this reference in the above quoted edition of the text.

25 *Harshacharita*, (N. S. P. edition.) 1918, p. 179, lines 9–10.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 233, lines 17–18.

27 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX p. 16, 1. 3 of the text.

28 *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, ed. by Stein A. Delhi 1960 (reprint) IV. 362.

29 Levi, *op. cit.* p. 169.

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Uttara Rāmacharita* ed. with notes and translation by Kane P. V., Delhi 1962, I. 48.

32 Translation of this verse as well as that of other passages quoted above belongs to Levi only.

33 *Yōgasūtra of Pātañjali.*

34 *Manusmṛiti* with the *manu-bhāshya* of Mēdhatithi, 2 Vols. ed. by Jha G. N. Calcutta 1932, VIII. 271.

35 Levi, *op. cit.* p. 167.

36 Kane, *op. cit.,* notes p. 49.

37 *Manu. op. cit.* commentary part.

38 Levi, *op. cit.* p. 167.

39 *Ibid.,* pp. 165-167. For instance, in comparision to seven references showing preference, for the funeral meaning of the title *sugṛihītanāman* Levi has easily gathered more than twelve other references to the same word where it is used in the honorific sense but otherwise.

40 Levi, *op. cit.* pp. 163–169. where Levi opines that the works referring to the titles like *bhadramukha, rāshṭriya* and *sugṛihītanāmā* etc. which are noticed in the records of the Kshatrapas, must have borrowed them from the latter and hence they may fall nearer to them in date.

41 *Mṛichcha* (N. S. ed.) Bombay 1910, II. p. 45.

42 Ibid., IX. 6. ff. p. 208.

43 Ibid., p. 59.

44 *Ibid.*

45 Ibid., IV 32 ff. p. 111 and VII, 3 ff. p. 159.

46 Ibid., VI. p. 137.

47 *Ibid.,* VI. 14. cf. *Drāv-ēva pūjanīyāv-iha nagaryāṁ tilaka-bhūtau cha. Āryā Vasantasēnā dharma nidhiś= chārudattaś= cha.*

48 *Mudrārākshasa* by Viśākhadatta, ed. by A. Hillebrandt, pt. I, text. Breslau, 1912. Act. I. 17 ff. p. 11. In one of the manuscripts of the same text, as pointed out by Hillebrandt, the reading is found as *'anugṛihīta-nāmadhēya.*

49 Ibid., p. 15.

50 *Harsha.,* (N. S. ed.) p. 27.

51 *Ibid.,* p. 77.

52 *Ibid.,* (Tr. of Cowell and Thomas (London 1897) p. 64.

53 *Ibid.,* p. 91.

54 *Ibid.,* p. 248.

55 *Ibid.,* p. 188, See also, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, p. 46, fn. 1 where Kielhorn remarks that the exact meaning of *sugṛihīta-nāman* is well indicated by this passage of the *Harshacharita.*

56 Levi, *op. cit* p. 169.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

58 *Ibid.*

59 *Op. cit.* fn. 51.

60 *Op cit* fn. 54.

61 The term *prētaḥ* according to the *Dharmasāstra* has a special meaning. It applies to the soul of such dead persons whose *śrāddha* and *tarpaṇa* is not duly performed, vide *Hist.* of *Dharma.* Vol. IV. pp. 262 ff.

62 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII. p. 46 in. 1.

63 *Harsha*, p. 62.

64 Levi, Op. cit. p. 169.

65 *Ibid.*

66 *The Nātyaśāstra.*, Eng. tr. with notes by Ghosh, M. M. Calcutta 1950, Vol. I. p. LXXXIII–IV (introduction).

67 The *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* of *Viśvanātha* ed. with introduction & notes by Kane, P. V. Bombay, 1923, pp. VIII-IX (introduction).

6 A NOTE ON KANDULAVU OR CROWN LANDS

R. Tirumalai

The term *Kaṇḍuḻavu* occurs in Pāṇḍya and Travancore Inscriptions to describe the erstwhile tenure of some lands granted by the king. Sri T. N. Subrahmanyam has correctly described this term as "king's own lands" *(arasanatu sonda nilam)*.[1] This paper seeks to throw some more light on this term. The term *uḻavu* means cultivation, and enjoyment. *Kaṇḍu* means here direct or personal supervision under his very eye. Personal supervision of the gross yield at harvest time *(obbaḍi)* is even now termed *kaṇḍu–mudal–kāṇa.* In other words it denotes lands held by the king for direct cultivation under or through his personal supervision. In Malayāḷam the equivalent term is *kaṇḍu-kṛishi.*

In the nature of things, such lands would be comparatively limited in their occurrence and their location could be close to the capital. Two such instances are noticed - one in inscriptions from Tirunelvēli[2] which was a Pāṇḍyan head-quarters of the medieval Pāṇḍyas[3] and another in an inscription from Tiruppa-raṅkuṉṟam[4] close to Madurai, the capital. The term also occurs in Travancore inscriptions.[5]

In the 10th year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, two princes or chieftains, Tirunelvēli Perumāḷ and Pāṇḍya Perumāḷ had endowed for a deity of Tirunelvēli and the goddess for the mid-day service (*uchchhi sandhi*) their *kaṇḍuḻavu* land in Teṟkukuḻi in Aśūr-nāḍu. The inscription is incomplete and can be assigned to early 13th century A. D.[6]

The second instance is more detailed. In the reign of Sundara Pāṇḍya he granted lands for maintaining and feeding 11 brāhmaṇas who were to recite Śrī Rudram (Śrī Rudrādhyayanam) before the Tirunelvēli deity on the Mūla asterisk, the native star of the king. The 11 Brāhmaṇas were :

- Māḍabōśai Gōvinda Bhaṭṭaṉ
- Iruṅgaṇṭi Āṇḍān Bhaṭṭa Sōmayāji
- Pāgatūr Ulagamuṇḍāṉ Bhaṭṭaṉ
- Allūr Yagñanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭaṉ
- Soṭṭai Aruḷāḷapperumāl Bhaṭṭaṉ
- Sibasai Śrī Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭaṉ
- Gōmaṭam Bhūpati Bhaṭṭa Bṛihaspati Savaiyājiyār
- Seṭṭabōsai Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ Bhaṭṭar
- Puḷḷalūr Yādava Bhaṭṭar
- Irungaṇṭi Souripperumāḷ Bhaṭṭa Sōma-yāji
- Vaṅgipuṟam Nambi Bhaṭṭar

The lands were in Kunṟattūr a *dēvadāna* village of the deity of Tirunelvēli. The lands were in the occupied holding (kāṇi) or Maḷavarāyan Taṅgai-nāchchhi, apparently a tenant at will. It was under personal cultivation (*nam-uḻavu*). It can yield 2 crops both *kāṟ* and *pisānam* and first rate lands (*talaivarisai-nilam*). The lands were located to the south of *Rājarājavāykāl,* west of the pathway or channel (*vadi*) and comprised the following :–

Sluice/ channel No. (kaṉṉāru).	No. of sey or field.	Extent
1	4	1 *mā*
	5	1/2 "
	6	*mukkāṇi* (3/80)
	8	1 *mā*
2	1	1 *mā*
3	3	1/2 *mā*
	7	1/2 *mā*
	8	1 *mā*
	9	*mukkāṇi arai* (3/80 + 1/160)
4	1	1 *mā*
	2	1 *mā*
	3	1/2 *mā*
	4	*mukkāṇi* (3/80)
	5) 6)	1 *mā* (each ?)
5	7	1 *mā*
	1	1/2 *mā*
	5	*kāṇi* (1/80)
	3	1 *mā*
	Total	*vēli* 3/4, 1 *mā varai*

The personal cultivation was discontinued from the month of *Puraṭṭāśi*. The *kaḍamai* was payable together with *antarāyam* to the temple as before, but *kārāṇmai* and tax-yields in cash or as distributed among the fields were allocated as *Śrī Rudrādhyanappuṟam*.

From this evidence the following inferences can be made :-

(i) The *kaṇḍuḻavu* lands could be located in *dēvadāna* villages in which case, the land-dues allocated to the temple had to be paid to the temple. The full yield along with unallocated land-dues share could be appropriated by the king. In the instant case the lands were, though belonging to the king or chieftain as Palace Estate or as Crown lands, still having an holding-claimant Maḻavarāyan Taṅgai Nāchchhi, who had, perhaps, agreed to pay in lump a share of the yield *(pāṭṭam)*. But being a *kaṇḍuḻavu* land such an holding-claimant could be terminated, synchronising with the conversion of the tenure from *kaṇḍuḻavu* to *Śrī Rudrādhyayanapuṟam* granted to the 11 brāhmaṇas.

Thirdly the lands were scattered over seven channels taking off from the main channel or tank-sluice. While the average size of the individual parcel was 1 *mā* (33 cents) some were even smaller. Also for purposes of grant, it could be that select parcels were picked out or all parcels under one tenant were granted in the aggregate, but they were scattered though in fairly close proximity.

But the lands were capable of growing two crops regularly and they were first-rate in yield (*talaivarisai*).[9]

A second instance of *kaṇḍuḻavu* lands also comes from Tirunelvēli. This is dated in the 8th year of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya.[10] In that year, the superintendents of the cultivated lands of the *sabhā* of Tirunelvēli *alias* Kulaśēkhara-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam (*Paṇṇai vēli śeyvār*) gave a single deed of conveyance (*ēka pramāṇa*) in substitution of several earlier ones. The grantees were the brāhmaṇa residents of Anavaradadāna-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a brāhmaṇa settlement of 24 bhaṭṭās having 24 shares besides 2 shares each for the Śiva and Vishṇu temples to the west of the Śiva temple. The *agra-*

hāra (brāhmaṇa township or settlement) was set up by one Kōṭṭaiyūr Aḷavandān Daivachchhilayār Bhaṭṭaṉ and named after a chieftain or prince Anavaradadāna-pperumāḷ.

One of the items of lands conveyed to the new bhaṭṭas had a history. In earlier times, there was a rain-fed tank collecting surface-drainage and *āyacut* (*punakkuḷam*) in Mēlvēmbu-nāḍu in Āyar-kuḷam included area. In that *āyacut* (command area) excluding the land-share (*karai*) enjoyed by one Jātavēdan . . . . . the ancestors of *sabhaiyār* or Kulaśēkhara-Chaturvēdimaṅgalm had given the lands to the king as *uḷavoṟṟi* that is they conveyed their cultivating rights to the king on a usufructary mortgage in return for cash payment. The king had then constructed a tank named Paṇḍitappereēṟi[6] and the lands became a water-spread, and could not be cultivated. Hence in lieu of the yield-share the original Brāhmaṇa holders were given *svāmibhōgam* or a title share for the ownership of the lands. Subsequently this payment of *svāmibhōgam* was discontinued. The lands under the tank newly constructed and the tank were appropriated as the Palace Estate or Crown lands of the king (piṉṉam, *svāmibhōgam-tarāmal perumāḷ kaṇḍuḷavākki pōnda Paṟṟil*)[7].

In the lands so constituting the Palace Estate the king by a letter had granted from the 7th year Chittirai, (*i. e.*, the year previous to the date of this inscription) 1-$^1/_2$ *vēli* or 30 *mā* as *dharmadāna* to the bhaṭṭas who had been newly settled in Anavaradadāna-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam. The *sabhayār* of the mother-township (Kulaśēkhāra-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam) confirmed such a grant and a share of the water-spread (*kuḷam kōrvai*) (i. e., water-rights from the tank so granted). The new settlers could raise two crops (*kār-pisānam*) and a summer crop also (*kuṟuvai*) by direct cultivation or by causing the lands to be cultivated (*payir śeydum, śey-duvittum*), and could occupy the house-sites or cause them to be occupied (*kudi-yirundum kuḍiyirutthiyum*).

The king also issued a command that the new settlers were to pay the (proportionate) immutable demand (*vāḍā-kkaḍamai*) of 4-5/8 *achchu* to the deity of Tirunelvēli temple. The *sabhā* representatives endorsed this obligation, and directed payment[11] of other land dues to the temple as stipulated by the king. The facts set out are self-explanatory. In the process of betterment of irrigation facilities undertaken by the king, even the rights of the earlier grantees had apparently been overlooked, or ignored after an initial period of recompense paid for their title-dues (*śvāmibhōgam*) as diversion fee for conversion of cultivable lands into a tank-bed.

The parcels of (*kaṇḍuḷavu*) lands in the *āyacut* of Vīrapaṇḍitapērēṟi in Kuṉṉat-tūr had survived even upto the 16th century. For the Tiruvāḍi chieftain, Vīra Mārttāṇḍavarmaṉ granted some lands of this tenure in the same *āyacut* to the temple in Tirunelvēli temple in Kollam 721 (A. D. 1525).[12]

The third instance comes from Tirup-paṟankuṉram.[13] This is from the cave on the south side of the hill from Umayāṇ-ḍār Temple. It is dated in the 7th year,

325th day of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya I (circa 1224 A. D.). A new deity named after the king was installed and a shrine built. (The present Umayāṇḍār temple). The priests supplicated for a grant of land for the apparel expenses, temple construction works and other needs of the shrine. Maḻavarāyan, the chieftain endorsed this request and suggested the grant of 6 *mā* of double crop lands, and 6 *mā* of single crop lands in all 1/2 *vēli* and 2 *ma*. The lands were the *kaṇḍuḻavu* lands of the king in Puḻingunṟūr, to the east of (*kīḻpuram*) Vīranārāyaṇa tank, *alias* Sundarapāṇḍyapuram. The lands were to be measured by *Malaikuḍi* rod (L. 4, 10) or *Vasantavāi* rod (Lines 33–34 ; 48) and were to be localised in a contiguous block on one side of the fields (*orupakkamaḍaiya*) so that they need not be interspersed and the beneficial enjoyment of both the grant lands and of the residue might not be affected.

The king granted 12 mā of lands as *dēvadāna iṟaiyili* (lands endowed for the temple rendered free from land-dues) accordingly together with the land dues, *kārāṇmai mīyaichi*, *antarāyam*, *marakkalam*, *veṭṭippāṭṭam*, *pañjupīli*, *sandivigrahappēṟu*, *perumpāḍikkāval* and all other dues. The royal officers duly conveved the grant.

The effect of the grant was that the crown lands in which the king had absolute rights (without any tenancy or occupancy) were converted *dēvadāna* lands. The temple could either directly cultivate the lands through tenants at will or through creation of occupancy rights. The land dues conveyed include *marakkalam i. e.*, the superintendening fee for lands and harvests while the lands were under direct cultivation.

There was a similar case of change in tenure noticed in Śuchīndram. In A. D. 1489, the Tiruvaḍi chief, Ravivarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr Mūtha Tiruvaḍi granted a land which was a *kaṇḍuḻavu* or crown land irrigated by the south channel of the Vīrakēraḷa big tank in Tuppāykkuḍi in Nāñjil-nāḍu, released it from his personel cultivation and gave it to Perumāḷ Rāyar, daughter of Ārumugapperumāḷ, the first service-holder in Śuchīndram temple, instituting a bath and a special service on his birthday - *pūraṭṭādi* asterisk in *Māśi* month.[14]

The term is also used to denote the land under the direct cultivation of the deity *i. e.*, through hired labour under the supervision of the temple authorities. One such parcel was released from direct cultivation in *Śaka* 1489 (A. D. 1567) from among the temple lands of Teṅkāśi Viśvanāthasvāmī in later Pāṇḍya times.[15]

Instances of *kaṇḍuḻavu* lands endowed by Pāṇḍya kings to temples[16] or converted into *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam pāṭṭam*[17] also occur in the western hamlet of Śrīvaikuṇṭam, and in Kaḍayanallūr. There were also some crown lands in the village Nallūr in Kīḻ Kaḷa Kūṟṟam which were irrigated by the Chittār river.

The corresponding term in Malayālam is *kaṇḍukṛishi*. This term has come to be used later even to lands under the temple's own direct cultivation (1795 A. D.) in the Paṭṭāḷi Copper Scroll of Kollam 971[8]. But its definitive use was to denote

the home-farm lands of the king. It occurs as such in the Kaḍukkarai-ōlai document of Kollam 898 (1722 A. D.).[19] It was an year of acute distress and conflict between the landholders and the rulers of Travancore and the palace servants. On account of the unbearable exactions of the lands in Nāñjil-nāḍu and the deployment of the army for revenue exactions the lands were left uncultivated and people retreated to the east of the mountains. The king himself interceded and patched the dispute. But the landholders were in a resolute mood and demanded damages for their sufferings and those who transgressed their collective decisions were called to account.

Among the lands of various tenures, *kaṇḍuḷavu* lands also occur but these lands were also leased (*pāṭṭam*) at a fixed rate of 30 *paṇams* per *mā*, as all other *dēvadāna*, *brahmadānam* lands of special tenure, and waste lands. Even the small parcels of *kaṇḍuḷavu* lands were held on the same *pāṭṭam* terms. Though they were the king's own lands in actual cultivation they should have been neglected to be rated along with waste lands and other endowed lands.

The lands of this tenure have survived right down to our times in the former Travancore State. Dewan A. Seshiah Sastri has described the *kaṇḍukṛishi* lands as the homefarm lands of the sovereign. The lands were theoretically speaking cultivated by the sovereign himself. Seed and hire for cultivation used to be advanced to the actual tenant and recovered with interest out of the harvest out of which the tenants got for their share generally a little more than 1/2 of the gross produce. If the lands were held under direct cultivation they were *tanatu* holdings.

If they were leased on a fixed rental the lands were on *pāṭṭam* sub-tenure. Some lands aid even a quitrent or favourable assessment to the government. The sovereign could also assign the lands at his pleasure free from all levy (*iṟayili* or *karaoḻivu*). *Kaṇḍukṛishi* tenants, however, in strict legal theory, were only tenants-at will and they do not and could not have any property rights in the lands.[20] But in actual practice the *pāṭṭam*-holders of the *kaṇḍukṛishi* lands freely bought and sold and bequeathed and inherited the lands and dealt in land otherwise. In the tranferred territory of Kanyakumari District, there were 119 acres and 38 cents of *kaṇḍukṛishi* lands. They had earlier been transferred to the Government of Travancore-Cochin by the ruler of Travancore in his proclamation dated 27th May 1949, and the ruler surrendered all his rights to the government. On the States Reorganisation Act coming into force, it was left to the then Government of Madras to appropriately deal with lands of this tenure in the Revenue Settlement of the transferred territory.

Notes :

1 *S. I. Temple Inscriptions,* Vol. III, Pt. 2 p. 412

2 *S, I. I.,* Vol V, Nos. 408, 432 and 411

3 Māṟavarman Śrīvallabha, a Pāṇḍya ruler of the early 12th century had a palace *(kōil)* at Tirunelvēli *(T. A. S.,* Vol. VII, Pt. 1, pp. 3-4 : *Kanyākumari Inscriptions of Tamil Nadu Govt.,* Part III, 308 of 19

4 *A. S. S. I.,* Vol IV, pp. 43-4.

5 *T. A. S.,* Vol VI, part I, p. 93; *Ibid.,* Vol. V pt. 3, p. 223H.

6 *S. I. I.,* Vol V, No. 408.

8 The total would tally on the basis of I *mā* each in fields 5 & 6 roughly to 3/4 *vēli,* but does not exactly tally.

9 *S. I. I.,* Vol. V, No. 432, pp. 157-3.

10 *Ibid.,* No. 411, p. 138

11 *S. I. I.,* Vol. V, No. 411, p. 138, line 25

12 *ARSIE.,* 1927, No. 59.

13 *A.S.S.I.,* Vol. IV, Burgess & Natesa Sastri, pp. 43-4. It should be noted that the lexiographical memory of Tamīlnadu in the 19th century has lost sight of the technical and denotative significance of this term. Nelson in his *Madura Manual* while giving a free translation of this inscription takes *Kaṇḍuḷavu* to be a field name. Even Burgess & Natesa Sastri in editing and translating this Inscription have not brought out the correct import of this term.

14 *ARIE.,* 1958-59, No. B 458 I am grateful to the Chief Epigraphist to the Government of India for sparing a transcript of this unpublished inscription. *(Teṉkāl kaṇḍuḷavil viṭṭukkuḍutta nilattukku)*

15 *S. I. I.,* Vol. V, 766 Tenkāśi. *(nam kaṇḍuḷavum tirandu)* Also please see *ARSIE.,* 1927, No. 86 (A. D. 1557-Tirunelveli)

16 *ARIE.,* 1959-90, Nos. 379-76

17 *ARSIE.,* 1917, No. 645

18 *T. A. S.,* Vol. VI. part I, pp. 93-96

19 *Ibid.,* Vol. V part 3, pp. 222-4

20 *T. S. R. Manual,* Vol. III, part I pp. 15-16

7 NOTE ON TEMBHURNI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I

K. G. Krishnan

These plates have been edited by Dr. H. S. Thosar in this journal, Vol. IX, 1982, pp 1-5. They require to be reedited on account of several mistakes including the only one pointed out as note 10 on page 5. But we are concerned with the most important point ignored on account of a mistake in the reading of lines 26-27 of the text, which is of far-reaching importance to the history of a minor dynasty in Tamil Nadu.

The plates were issued from a place in Tamil Nadu by the Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya I. The passage giving this information is read as "Chōḷa[nā]ḍu[ṁ] pravēśō(viśy=o)tkaṭa Virājamaṅgala-pūrvva-dig-bhāgē=vasthita Daśaṇūka-grāmam=adhivasati". The correct reading is Bā-[ṇnā]ḍu[ṁ] pravēś=otakaṭē 'dhirājamaṅgala-pūrvva-dig-bhāgē='vasthita Ut[ram]pākagramam=adhivasati". This means that 'while the Chālukya king was camping at Ut[ram]pākam to the east of Adhirājamaṅgalam in Bāṇa-nāḍu'. The place of camp was Utrampākkam i. e., Uttarampākkam[1] as it will be spelt in Tamil, laying to the east of a place called Adhirājamaṅgalam in Bāṇa-nādu (i. e., Bāṇa-rāshṭra or vishaya as occurring in early inscriptions of the area).

Chāḷukya Vikramāditya I is known to have camped at Uragapura i. e., Uṟaiyūr in the Chōḷa country in the Śaka year 594 from his Savṇūr and Gadvāl plates.[2] This charter indicates that the Chāḷukya king moved further north up to Adhirājamaṅgalam which was the ancient name of Tiruvadikai - Tiruvadi for short in Cuddalore Taluk, South Arcot District, in the same year i. e., 672 A. D. It is well-known that sometime between this date and c. 680 A. D. Pallava Paramēś-varavarman I managed to engage successfully the Chāḷukya at Peruvaḷanallūr on the one hand and employ a wing of his army in the north to divert the enemy's attention.

An inscription[3] of the 9th century in Sanskrit engraved on the wall of the central shrine in the triple-shrine complex (Mūvarkōyil) at Koḍumbāḷūr in Pudukkottai District, Tamil Nadu gives the genealogy of a line of Vēḷir chiefs. Some of them are indicated by titles and a few only by names. They are Vīratuṅga (Paravīrajit, Maḷavajit), Atīvīra (Anupama), Saṁghakṛit, Nṛipakēsarī, Paradurgamardana (Vātāpijit), Samarābhirāma - his wife Anupamā, the daughter of the Chōḷa king and Bhūti (Minnāmaḷā, Vikramakēsari). Among these Samarābhirāma killed, as informed additionally by the inscription, Chalukki in the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala (Adhirājamaṅgal-ājau yō nijaghāna Chaḷukkim-line 5). The sequence of the title Vātāpijit, of Paradurgamardana and the part played by his son Samarābhirāma in the battle of Adhirājamaṅgalam fits very well with the reigns of Pallava Narasimhavarman who had the title Vātāpikoṇḍa i. e., one who captured Vātāpi and of Chālukya Vikramāditya who camped at

Adhirājamaṅgalam obviously to engage his Pallava counterpart Paramēśvaravarman I respectively. This is based on a presumption that only one battle was ever fought by the Chālukya and the one referred to in the charter is the same as the one mentioned in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription.

The Tembhurni plates give us the additional information that Vikramāditya camped at Adhirājamaṅgala. It is obvious that he must have proceeded north from Uragapura towards the Pallava capital and Paramēśvaravarman, the then reigning Pallava king managed to distract his attention by sending a wing of his army elsewhere along the frontiers of the Chālukya dominions. The present charter indicates the possibility of an engagement at Adhirājamaṅgalam (Tiruvadi) between the Chalukya and the Irukkuvēḷ chief Samarābhirāma evidently a Pallava feudatory. The Chāḷukya might have passed through the northern bank of Kāvēri taking a south western deviation to avoid the Pallava. But the Pallava was shrewd enough to march along the flank and charge the Chālukya at Peruvaḷanallūr in Lalgudi Taluk forcing him to withdraw finally.

This reconstruction of these events have a bearing on the history of the Irukkuvēḷ house at Koḍumbāḷūr. We have fixed Bhūti Vikramakēsari, the son of Samarābhirāma as a subordinate of Pallava Nandivarman III in the first half of the ninth century and a contemporary of Āditya I (871-898 A. D.) on the basis of Kilur inscription of Nandivarman.[4] This raises a problem. If the synchronism of the camp of Adhirājamaṅgalam with the battle of the same name in the Tembhurṇi Plates and the Kodumbāḷūr inscription is accepted the life-span of Samarābhirāma will have to cover too long a period i. e., 672 A. D. to 900 A. D. an impossible phenomenon! Either we presume that the identity cannot be correct or the dates of the Irukkuvēḷ chiefs Samarābhirāma and his son Bhūti (Vikramakēsari) require revision by predating their activities. In the latter case all the considerations arising out of strong evidence including the family connections of these chiefs with the Chōḷas, the evaluation of their contributions in the field of architecture, sculpture etc., will have to be revised. Since this is equally, if not much more, impossible we have to discount the possibility of the identity of the probable encounter at that place with the one mentioned in the Kodumbāḷūr inscription.[5]

Notes :-

1. This place cannot be identified now.
2. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 115, Vol. X, p. 100
3. *SII,* Vol. XXIII, No. 129
4. *Fp. Ind.,* Vol. XXXII, pp. 99-102
5. *Early History of the Vellar Basin* by Dr. Arokiaswamy. Vātāpijit, the title of Paradurgamardana and Adhirājamaṅgala battle in which Samarābhirāma took part have been placed by him in the seventh century.

8 THE FIRST INSCRIPTION OF THE CHALUKYA VIKRAMA ERA FROM HAMPI

C. T. M. Kotraiah

A Kannaḍa inscription[1] engraved on a black-chlorite slab was exposed during the course of excavations[2] undertaken by the Mid-Southern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India in the year 1975-76 in the 'Hampi Ruins'. Since it is assignable to the year 1076 A. D. when king Vikramāditya VI of the dynasty of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa was ruling, it has an important bearing on the history of Hampi, particularly of the period prior to the founding of the Vijayanagara and its empire in about 1336 A. D. The same is discussed in the following lines.

This rectangular inscribed slab was found in front of an important monument locally known as Mahānavami Dibba in the citadel area of the metropolis Vijayanagara. It appears to have been reused here, as a floor-slab, probably during the Vijayanagara period, as indicated by the structural context at the find-spot of this inscribed slab. It must have been done so after at least 250 years from the date of its issue, since it had lost its importance by that time due to the lapse of such a long period. Resultantly the major part of the inscription is worn out and damaged, particularly the beginning and the end. Only four lines, from the seventh line to the tenth line, are clear and this portion contains important information as detailed below.

The language of the inscription is Kannaḍa and the characters are also of Kannaḍa assignable to the eleventh century A. D.

It refers to one Sōmēśvara who was *mahāpradhāna*, *daṇḍanāyaka* and *Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya* as donor. It was issued during the first year of the Chālukya Vikrama era which corresponds to 1076 A. D. The donees were the teachers (*upādhyāyaru*), who were engaged in expounding the *purāṇas* in this *maṭha*, the name of which was either not mentioned or is not available now, as the available inscription is only a part. The donation was of 80 *lokki-gadyāṇa* or *pon-gadyāṇa* (eighty gold coins), regularly for every year.

In the first place, its importance is the location where it has been found i. e. Hampi. This establishes that Hampi was already a place of importance and repute during the eleventh century A. D. i. e., well before the founding of the Vijayanagara empire. Hampi must have had during this period, not only reasonable habitation but also religious and educational institutions like temples and *maṭhas*. In these *maṭhas* both teachers and the taught were living and carrying on their professions. This tradition continued in the following centuries also when it became the seat of activities of that great saint-poet Harihara of *Girijā Kalyāṇa* fame and his associates which combined with other political factors ultimately led to the rising of the Vijayanagara empire which is known

for its patronage to religions and culture, particularly the Vedic.

Secondly it further confirms that in the beginning of his ambitious career, Vikramāditya VI was confining his activities to the banks of the river Tungabhadrā, in the southern part of the Chālukyan kingdom, even when his father Sōmēśvara I was ruling. Further more, this is almost one of the first inscriptions, seen near Tungabhadrā, to confirm it again, the above point. He must have been active in this southern part of the Chālukyan kingdom till he was crowned in 1076 A. D. after setting aside his weak brother-king Sōmēśvara II. After this event, he must have moved to Kalyāṇa, the main capital of that empire and asserted his power. Here, it may be recollected that the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja I in about 1044 A. D. defeated the Chālukyan armies of this Vikramāditya and demolished their palace at Kampila, on the southern bank of Tungabhadrā[3] which place is at a distance of about 19 kms. away from the present find-spot of the above inscription at Hampi. All these go to confirm that in the beginning of his career, the arena of activities of Vikramāditya VI was on the banks of the river Tungabhadrā, that too in the vicinity of Hampi. So far, this is the first inscription to be issued by him immediately after he overthrew the authority of his elder brother, Sōmēśvara II and assumed power. On such an eventful occasion it is just logical to think of one of his officers issuing such declaring record from a place already familiar to him, i. e. Hampi on the southern bank of the river Tungabhadrā and make grants or donations to familiar and favourite instituions as in the present case.

Of course, there is some difficulty in fixing up the place where the king was camping at the time of issuing this inscription, since major portions of it are not available at present. But basing on the find-spot, it can be surmised that at the time of issuing this inscription, king Vikramāditya VI was in the vicinity of Hampi itself. And without any doubt the same formed part of his kingdom.

The most important point here is that this inscription once for all settles that king Vikramaditya VI started the Chālukya Vikrama era during the cyclic year *Naḷa* (*Anala*) and in A. D. 1076. The uncertainity whether it was *Nala* or *Pingaḷa* is now over with this inscription coming to light.

Further this is the first inscription of king Vikramāditya VI assignable to his first regnal year so far noticed.

Next, we get the name of Sōmēśvara who was not only *mahāpradhāna* and *daṇḍanāyaka* but also *bhaṭṭōpādhyāya*. That is, this Sōmēśvara was an able administrator, an efficient general and a learned-scholar - all combined in one. In this inscription he is the donor, naturally for the propagation of religious literature (*purāṇas*), in which he had better taste probably, himself being a *bhaṭṭōpādhyāya*.

He was known as a subordinate under Sōmēśvara II in 1075 A. D[4], bearing epithets as *Mahāsāmantādhipati, Daṇḍanāyaka, Mahāpradhāna, Hērisandhi - vigrahi* and *manevergaḍe* and was eulogised as scholar-statesman in the Gadag[5] and Kuḍutaṇi[6] inscriptions of the 23rd year

Vikramāditya VI. The titles given to him are *abhinavā-śākalya*, *Ṛigvēda-ratnākara*, *ashṭhādaśa - dharmma - śāstra - kuśala*, *śrī-Tribhuvanamalladēvarārādhya*, *Mahāpra-dhāna Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Śrīmadayyangaḷu* etc., The Gadag inscription in particular, describes him in about 20 verses both in Kannaḍa and Sanskrit. It informs us that he was appointed by the king as his *dharmādhikārin* or chief superintendent of religious affairs and that he was a learned and eminent Ṛigvēdi brāhmaṇa of Mauna-gōtra and was the grandson of Vāmana-bhaṭṭa. It further speaks of his many virtues, his high rank in the royal palace, his mastery of sacred and secular learning, his pious practices and his princely benificence, especially in the foundation of charity-houses, brahmanic endowments, and monasteries for Vedic and other studies. Among such establishments, Lokkiguṇḍi was one such suitable town where he founded a school for the study of the Prābhākara doctrines of Pūrva-mīmāṁsa. The expression *Tribhuvanamalladēvar-ārādhyarumappa* explains that the king Vikramāditya VI treated him as a *guru* with utmost devotion and reverence. It is possible that both the king and his preceptor might have been staying on the banks of Tungabhadrā when the grant was issued.

It is also to be noted that Sōmēśvara bhaṭṭōpādhyāya of the present inscription might be the same Sōmēsvara bhaṭṭa referred to in another inscription[7] issued in A. D. 1088, March 27th and seen at Munirabad[8], Raichur district, in Karnataka wherein he was the chief (*Ūroḍeya*) of Pulige (also called *Vyāghra-grāma*). The ancient name of this Munirabad continues with slight change as Hulige, popular even now and this name must be after the popular goddess of the place, Huligemma, a form of Durgā. The name Munirabad entered official records from the time of the Nizams of Hyderabad. As in the former case, some shares of the grant were meant for a brāhmaṇa (*bhaṭṭa*) reciting the *purāṇas*. The fact that there is not much distance between the two find spots (about 10 kms), not much time-gap (about 12 years) between the issuing of these two inscriptions and similarity of names as well as similarity of purposes in the donations makes the above surmise a reasonable one if not the accurate one. More inscriptions in this direction may throw further light in course of time.

The grant is of eighty *lokki-gadyāṇa* ot *pon-gadyāṇa*, regularly for every year. This shows the popularity of the gold coins minted by the Chalukyan kings in their provincial capital at Lokkiguṇḍi which is at a distance of 80 kms. from the find-spot of this inscription. The number of gold coins so gifted has been mentioned both in words and figures in order to avoid confusion.

Finally this inscription is the earliest of the recorded evidences[9] of the mediaeval period in respect of the history of Hampi, and the first inscription of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. Here it may also be remembered of the architectural evidences[10] which can be assigned decidedly to the Western Chalukyan school and seen even now in the temples of Bhuvanēśvarī, Pampāmbā, two storied *maṇḍapa* in the car-street etc. of Hampi, which speak of the history of Hampi during the of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa.

The date of the inscription as recorded in the text is *Chalukya Vikrama varshada ondaneya Nala samvatsarada Bhādrapada bahula Ādityavāra*. That is, in the cyclic year of *Nala*, on a Sunday, (either *pañchami* or *dvādaśi*) of second half of the *Bhādrapada* month, this grant was made. This corresponds to Sunday, August 21st or 28th of 1076 A. D. Since the *tithi* is not mentioned in the inscription and there are two Sundays in the second half of the month Bhādrapada, it can be either 21st or 28th of August.

But without any ambiguity it is the first year of the Chalukya Vikrama era started by the king Vikramāditya VI after ascending the throne in 1076 A. D. as already well-established.

All these go to establish that Hampi was already a place of considerable importance and activities even during the rule of the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and was preparing to open a glorious chapter in the political, social and cultural history of south India.

TEXT[12]

Lines 1-6 worn out.

7 raka . . . mahāpradhāna daṇḍanāyakaṁ Sōmēśvara-bhaṭṭōpādhyāyaru Chā -

8 ḷukya Vikrama varshada 1 neya Naḷa saṁvatsarada Bhādrapada bahuḷa Ādityavāra yī

9 *maṭhadoḷ* purāṇa - vyākhyānamumaṁ māḍuv - upādhyāyargge [prati]varsha . . . .

10 yoḷ koṭṭa Lokki - gadyāṇa eṇbattu aṁkādoḷaṁ 80 . . . . . .

11 Worn out.

Notes :-

1 A R I E, 1975-76, B-95.

2 *Indian Archaeology - A Review for 1975-76* (New Delhi), pp. 20 & 62.

3 K. A. N. Sastry, *A History of South India*, (Madras) (1976) pp. 185.

4 J. F. Fleet : *Dynastics of Kan. Distr.*, p. 443.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 348 ff.

6 *SII.*, vol. IX, part I, No. 164.

7 A R I E., 1959-60, pp. 97, B-483.

8 It may be noted here that Munirabad, the find-spot of this inscription is within a distance of 10 kms. from that of Hampi, as the crow flies.

9 The other ones of Hampi are already published vide *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 260, pp. 54-57 ; A R S I E., 1935, pp. 353.

10 Devakunjari ; *Hampi* - (New Delhi) (1970), pp. 12, 55 etc.

11 S. K. Pillai : Indian Ephemeris, Madras (1922) Vol. III PP. 155.

12 *I am very much thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore for having permitted me to edit the above inscription and publish it in the pages of this journal.

We are thankful to Shri M. J. Sharma for some of his suggestions and additional information regarding Sōmēśvara-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya [Ed.]

9 UDVAHANATHASVAMI TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS - A STUDY

S. Swaminathan

Temples have always held the utmost attention of mighty rulers and petty chieftains who saw to it that they should become the rendezvous of religious, spiritual and cultural activities of the people over whom they ruled. The temple also held a pivotal position in the economy of national life.

Religion proved a great cementing factor between the ruler and the ruled and the temple served the purpose. Royal patronage was extended to the arts and crafts in the temple.

The Udvāhanāthaśvāmin temple at Tirunamaṇañjēri on the northern bank of the river Kāvēri is a typical Chōḷa temple. As many as 28 inscriptions were copied in 1914 and noticed in the Annual report of South Indian Epigraphy of that year. The temple has a hoary antiquity of the past, as the deity is sung by the Saivite hymnologists, Appar and Sambandar.[1] Though we do not know when the temple actually came into being, but from the epigraphs engraved on the walls of the temple we can make out that the temple was an ancient one. It was origianally built of bricks, but from the early phase of Parāntaka I's reign onwards[2] the temple might have been reconstructed with stone. Sembiyaṉ Mahādēvi, the pious queen converted this brick temple into a stone temple. The religious fervour that dominanted since the time of Parāntaka I and Gaṇḍarāditya had a profound and far reaching effect on her building activities. Most of the temples had been rebuilt during the peaceful, prosperous and effective reigns of Uttamachōḷa and Rājarāja I. One such temple was the present Udvāhanāthasvāmi temple at Tirumaṇañjēri, at Mayavaram Taluk, Tanjavur District. This temple was converted into a stone temple by one Ārūraṉ Kambaṉ, her royal agent[3] and she also made liberal endowments to the temple. This agent hence styled as *Tirumaṇañjēri Tirukkaṟṟaḷi Pichchaṉ* [the person who converted the Tirumaṇañjēri temple into a stone temple][4]. But it was not until the reign of Kulōttuṅga III the reconstruction of the temple was completed, as an epigraph of his refers to the gift of a night lamp by Araśūr Kaḍaiyāṉ Śēramāṉ Tōḷaṉ, who converted the temple into a stone[5] [*tirukkaṟṟaḷi śaida Araśūr Kaḍaiyāṉ*]. Several stones were donated as gifts which suggest that the conversion of the temple was a gradual process and extended over years.

The temple received liberal endowments and rich gifts made by merchants, queen, royal agents and officials which reveal that the temple commanded prestige and popularity in the contemporary society. Located on the northern bank of the river Kāvēri, the area was fertile and produced surplus grain because of the accessibility of water for irrigation. The temple was situated in an area of relatively high population density with agricultural villages clustered closely together, surrounded by intensively cultivated fields.[6]

The following table* reveals the types of gifts received by the temple from the days of Parāntaka I in 911 A. D. to Rājarāja III in 1233 A. D.

year	king	gifts
911 A. D.	Parāntaka I	Gifts of a plate, a trumpet bell, an image of worship by a merchant.
——	Do	96 sheep to burn a perpetual lamp by a kitchenmaid of Tañjāvūr.
987 A. D.	Rājarāja I	Fixing the apportionment of paddy for various rituals and services by Sembiyaṉ Mahādēvi.
991 A. D.	Ibid.	The above donor ordered that various rituals and services should be performed out of 16 *kaḻañju* of gold accrued from the temple fund itself.
992 A. D.	Ibid.	Gifts of land in various places for several rituals to be done by the wife of one Kaṇṇamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ.
——	——	Sembiyaṉ Mahādēvi makes provision by apportioning paddy for various rituals and services.
1001 A. D.	Rājarāja I	Gift of 96 sheep by Ambar uḍaiyāṉ māraṉtiṭṭai to burn a lamp.
1021 A. D.	Rājēndra I	Gift of gold diadem by Vaḷuvarāja Mūvendavēḷān.
1045 A. D.	Rājādhirāja I	The *sabhā* of Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōḻa - chaturvēdimaṅgalam sold 1488 *kuḻi* of land to the temple
1046 A. D.	Ibid.	Gift of 3 1/2 ma to feed 1000 devotees.
1128 A. D.	Vikramachōḷa	Records the gift of land by the members of the *sabhā* exempting it from all the taxes.
1181 A. D.	Ibid.	Gift of 90 *kāśu* by Tiruveṇkāḍu uḍaiyāṉ to burn a lamp.
1182 A. D.	Kulōttuṅga III	Gift of a lamb, by Tirumūlakaṇḍaṉ śēramāṉtōḷaṉ who constructed the temple with stone.
1233 A. D.	Rājarāja III	Gift of 45 *kāśu* for a lamp and a lampstand by Tirukkaṟṟali uḍaiyāṉ Nāḍuḍaiyāṉ.

*Abstract taken from *ARSIE*., 1914.

One significant aspect of the above table is that most of the gifts were made by the dignitories who possessed such high sounding titles like Uḍaiyāṉ, Kiḻāṉ and Mūvendavēḷāṉ, who wanted to perpetuate the Chōḷa rule on the fertile Kāvēri basin. The temple as per the above table, was richly endowed by the members of royal family at Tañjāvūr and landed aristocracy of the region who accounted for the growth of the temple during the Chōḷa period. The temple received gold, *kāśu* (coins), land, livestock and utensils. From the above table it can be said with certainity that large agrarian tracts were acquired by the temple in the form of royal endowments and private donations to the temple. Since the temple was a big land owner it acquired a central place in the agrarian economy. The centralisation of agrarian activities under the institutional supervision of the temple resulted in the establishment of an elaborate and complex agrarian system. With its resources, the temple would have played an important role in the conomic activities of the region. It was a common practice that whenever land was donated as gifts to the temple, these lands were given to the peasants, who cultivated the land and transferred the *melvāram* to the temple which could be utilised for various services and rituals to be conducted at the temple in the name of the donor. An epigraph of this temple refers to a number of gifts of land made for the following purposes.[7]

Land gifted for the early morning service in the temple. Another gift of land for the construction and for the maintenance of a monastery. Land gifted for the person who performed worship in the temple.

Another gift $3^{1}/_{2}$ *mā* of land and the produce 700 *kalam* of paddy should be utilised for feeding 1000 devotees in the temple.[8]

These evidences only reinforce the view that the temple became a chief land owner and the yields were utilised for the stipulated rituals. The surplus of the yields were once again diverted to the temple for the same purpose. An epigraph[9] of Sembiyaṉ Mahādēvi refers to the institution of services and offering, for 16 *kaḻañju* of *poṉ* out of which 12 *kaḻañju* accrued from the [investment] of the temple itself and the balance 4 *kaḻañju* accrued from the paddy [from the lands possessed by the temple by way of gifts].

Large sums of gold and *kāśu* also flowed into the temple treasury, which constituted a major source of wealth. Although evidences are scanty regarding the gift of gold, but as in the case of other temples in the Kāvēri basin the temples must have received large quantities of gold. Lands provided an effective form of investment for temples stock of gold and *kāśu*.

An interesting aspect of this transaction was that paddy, the produce of the land was used as a standard measuring unit with reference to other commodities. An epigraph[10] elaborately discusses the numerous services and the amount of paddy utilised for such services. The break-up is as follows :

16 *kalam* of paddy to a person who performs worship in the temple.

1 *kuruṇi* of paddy per day for burning 4 perpetual lamps.

4 *nāḻi* of rice for food offerings to the deity during the mid-night.

For ghee bath 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy.

For curd bath 6 *nāḻi* of paddy.

For vegetables 4 *nāḻi* of paddy.

For betel leaves 4 *nāḻi* of paddy.

From the above record it is evident that the expenditure to be incurred for various services in the temple was measured only in terms of paddy, produced by the lands, owned by the temple, which were obtained as gifts. It seems that various items enumerated above like curd, ghee, vegetables, betel leaves and such other items required for worship were obtained in exchange of paddy.

Thus, the short study made above, reveals the economic and social aspects of the environment the temple in the medieval period. They are useful for reconstructing the economic and social history of the region.

Notes :-

1. Appar : *Dēvāram, Tirumurai* 5, No. 11. Sambandar : *Dēvāram Padigam. Tirumaṇañjēri.*
2. *ARSIE.*, 1914, No. 11 and 14 See also S. R. Balasubramaniam *Early Chōḻa Temples,* p. 188
3. *ARSIE.*, 1914, No. 10
4. *Ibid.*, No. 9
5. *Ibid.*, No. 27
6. Burton Stein : *Integration of the Agrarian system of South India. Land Control and Social structure iu Indian History.* University of Wisconsin press, Madison, 1969.
7. *ARSIE.*, 1914, No. 28.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 2
9. *Ibid.*, No. 9
10. *Ibid.*, No. 5.

10 MATHURA INSCRIPTION OF HUVISHKA, YEAR 50

S. Subramonia Iyer

The inscription[1] edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore was discovered in the course of excavations conducted by the Excavation branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura Tahsil and District, Uttar Pradesh. It is engraved on a stone slab and contains in all five lines of writing. The inscribed area measures about 72 cm. in length and 36.5. cm. in breadth. Individual letters are about 2.1 cm. or slightly more in height though a few letters and consonants endowed with vowel marks are bigger in size. The inscription has suffered damage due to the peeling off of the stone at a number of places, as a result of which quite a few letters are either lost or damaged including a part of the date portion and the purport of the inscription.

The characters belong to the Brāhmī alphabet as used in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa age. From the palaeographical point of view, it is noteworthy that the letters *m*, *s* and *h* belong to the so called Western variety which can be compared with corresponding letters found in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas as for instance that of Huvishka, year 40[2], etc. Of the numerical symbols, 50, 5 and 4 occur.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit betraying Prākrit influence. The date of the record is given as year 50, 4 evidently of the *paksha*, the name of the season having been lost and the 5th day. If the year 50 is assigned to the Śaka era, the date of the inscription will fall in 127-28 A. D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Kushāṇa king Huvishka mentioned as Huvēshka who is given the titles *mahārāja* and *dēvaputra*. It then mentions Purōhaśalāka[3] the son of Inrabala (i. e. Indrabala) who is described as a merchant (*sārthavāha*) and the brother of Bhavadatta. Then follow the name Sihi[la] and the letter [su], with the remaining letters in line 3 completely lost. The damaged portion might probably have contained the names of some persons. It is not clear in what way Sihila or others were connected with the donation. It is difficult to conjecture what the rest of line 3 would have contained. The gift given probably appears to be a stone slab on which the present epigraph is engraved. In the fourth line, after the letter *na* which may most probably be the instrumental case ending of one of the names of the donors figuring in line 3 occur the verb *nichalākarōt* whose exact meaning is not clear. In this connection, one is reminded of the expressions *achalam = aiśvaryaṁ bhavatu or achalam= aiśvaryatayaṁ bhavatu* occuring in some of the inscriptions from Mathurā[4]. Then is mentioned Dhānyavarma - vihāra to which the gift in question was given. The word that follows reads as *āchāryā* and may be restored as *āchāryāṇāṁ*. The rest of the

letters in line 4 complctly lost, the subsequent word, may have been *Samitiyānaṁ* or *Mahāsaṅghiyānaṁ*. when connected to the following word *parigrahe* at the beginning of line 5 it will yield the sense of 'for the acceptance of Samitiya or Mahāsāṅghika teachers'. In making the gift, the donee or the donees were accompanied by their parents. The gift was made for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Dhānyavarma - vihāra appears to have been located somewhere in Kaṅkālī Ṭilā from where the present epigraph was discovered. This *vihāra* is so far not known from any other epigraph.

TEXT[5]

1 Maha(hā)rājā(ja)sya Dēvaputrasya Huvēsh[k]asya sa(saṁ)vatsarē 50 . .

2 4 di 5 ētasya(syāṁ) (pū)rva(rvā)yaṁ(yāṁ) sa(sā)rtthava(vā)hasya(hēna) Inrabala-putrēṇa Bhavadatta[sya]

3 bhrātṛiṇā Purōhaśalāka(kē)na Sihi[la] su . . . . [sa][6]

4 [na] nichalākarōd = Dhānyavarma - vi[hārē] [āchā]rya[7] . . . .

5 . . . .[8] parigrahē saha mātā - pitṛibhya[ḥ*] sarva - satvānāṁ [hi] . . . .[9]

Notes :-

1 This is No. B 256 of *A R I E., 1976-77.*

2 *Mathura Inscriptions* (ed. by Janert), No. 137, pp. 173-74 and plate.

3 A similar name Parohaśālika occurs in an inscription from Mathurā. Ibid, No. 26, pp. 60-61.

4 Ibid., Nos. 60-62, pp. 91-94.

5 From impressions.

6 It is not certain how many letters have been lost.

7 Restore *āchāryāṇāṁ*

8 This may conjecturally be restored as *Samitiyānaṁ* or *Mahāsānghiyānaṁ*

9 Restore *hitasukhārthaṁ bhavatu.*

11 KASI AND KARNATAKA

S. L. Shantakumari

Kāśi or Vārāṇasī, a sacred place of hallowed glory has been a centre of great attraction for every orthodox Hindu. In fact, his life's mission remains incomplete until he visits Kāśi, takes a dip in the Gaṅgā and has the *darśana* of Śrī Visvanātha. This abiding faith has been there from time immemorial till today. For those who can not afford a journey to this holy place, there is nothing more meritorious than visiting nearby Śaiva centres and have the satisfaction of having visited Kāśi. Among the orthodox brāhmaṇa families of Karṇāṭaka even today there is a belief that on a particular day in the month of Māgha, the Gaṅga flowes into the waters of the local rivers and a dip then would help the devout to as much merit as for a bath in the real Gaṅgā.

Kāśi has been identified with holiness itself and thus many places in the south have acquired the name and fame as Dakshiṇa Vārāṇasī. In the early history of Karṇāṭaka we come across scores of such places which being the centres of temples of Śiva were called Dakshiṇa Kāśi and Dakshiṇa Vārāṇaśi.

We have instances when kings and others went to Kāśi on pilgrimage and made donations and the like in that place, People from Kāśi also came down to the south for variety of reasons.

A record' from Śāntigrāma, speaks from instance, a saint or Paramahamsa as coming from Kāśi to Śāntigrāma, the present village of the same name in Hassan district and installed the deity Varada Narasimha. His disciple Achala Prakāśa Svāmi purchased the village Hiriyūr with all its income and granted it to the deity.

More interesting is the copper plate grant from Bēlūr[1] dated in Śaka 1200 Bahudhānya, Māgha śu. 14, vaḍḍa – vāra corresponding to 1279 A. D., January 20. Its gives us all the details how the Hoysaḷa king Narasimha III came to the rescue of the Hindus residing in Kāśi. It states that 645 *nishkas* were given to the people of different regions staying in Kāśi to reimburse the tax they were paying compulsorily to the Muslim rulers. This resembles the *jizia* tax levied on the Hindus by the Muslim rulers.

It is interesting to note that these benefits offered by the king reached not the Karṇāṭaka people alone but all other southern people such as Gūrjara, Telugas, Tuḷu, Malayāḷa, Ariya i. e. Mahārāshṭrians, Gauḍia, Tīrabhukti. The king also made grants for the worship and offerings to the god Viśvēśvara. The money allotted for different groups of people such as the Karṇāṭaka, Teluga, Tuḷu, Malayāḷa, etc., indicate the proportionate population of these different groups in Kāśi, for example–

Karṇāṭagaru were given 30 *gadyāṇaṣ*
Gūrjararu 6 *gadyāṇas*
Tigula 65 *gadyāṇas*

Teluga 35 *gadyāṇas* and 5 *paṇas*
Tuḷu Malayāḷa 32 *gadyāṇas*
Ariya 8 *gadyāṇas*
Tirabhukti 15 *gadyāṇas*
Gauḍa 15 *gadyāṇas*

This is indeed a rare instance of a king coming to the rescue of the people facing difficulties in an alien land.

An example of later Kannaḍa ıulers of the 17th century contributing to the welfare activities in Kāśi comes from a bilingual inscription from Kapila-dḥārā, Varanasi Tahsil, dated Vikrama 1721 Śaka 1577 Krōdhin corresponding to 1655 A. D.[2] It states that the Kēladi chiefs Śivappa-nāyaka and his brother Venkaṭappa-nāyaka undertook the cleaning work of the silt in the tank (*Kapiladhārā-tīrtha*).

These are the stray instances of the contacts between the Kannaḍa people and the holy place of Kāśi. A close study of all the inscriptions of Karṇāṭaka would really reveal very interesting facts in our cultural study.

Notes :-

1 *Ec.*, Vol. XV, BI 298.

2 *ARIE.*; 1963-64, No. B 484.

12 THREE CHALUKYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM RACHANAPALLE

M. D. Sampath

The three epigraphs under study, being edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore were copied from Rāchānapalle in Anantapur Taluk and District.

The first and the second records are engraved on one and the same slab set up near a well by the roadside of the village. The third epigraph containing a damaged portion and slightly illegible letters is engraved on another slab set up by the roadside. All the three inscriptions have been noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 1941–42 as Nos: 69 to 71 of Appendix–B* :

These are written in Kannaḍa language and characters of the first half of the 12th Century A. D. The palaeographical and orthographical features of the records do not call for any special remarks.

The first inscription[1] contains 34 lines of writing while the second record[2] commencing from this line has 32 lines of writing in all. A few of the letters of this are not clear due to damage. There are altogether 24 lines of writing in the third inscription[3]. The stone on which this epigraph is engraved is irregular in shape. It is engraved vertically across in a narrow strip of space from line 16 onwards. Besides, a few lines of writing almost of the same characters as the one above can also be observed. It has no bearing with the text at the centre of this damaged slab.

The primary importance of the first inscription lies in the fact that *mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Raviyarasa is referred to as the son-in-law (*aḷiya*) of king Bhuvanaikamalla.

This record is dated in the Chālukya – Vikrama era 45, Śārvvari, Jyēshṭha, Amāvāsya, Sunday and solar eclipse. The only solar eclipse that occurred in the Cyclic year Śārvvari was in the month of Āśvina. While reporting this inscription in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, the cyclic year Śārvvari has been taken as correct for the Chālukya–Vikrama era 45 and suggested 1120 A. D., October 24, Sunday as the equivalent date. It is in this connection that the date of the inscription is necessarily to be examined. The first year of the era has been taken to fall between 1076 A.D. and 1077 A.D.[4] Since the first year of the Chālukya – Vikrama era was current till about tne March 19, 1077 A. D., the details of the date of our record would roughly correspond to Sunday, May 7, 1122 A. D. But there was no solar-eclipse on this date. The cyclic year was 'Śubhakṛit and not Śārvvari as stated in the record.[5]

The first inscription commences with the invocatory stanza *Namas = tuṁga*, etc., in lines 1-3. Lines 6-8 state that Tribhuvanamalla (i. e. Vikramāditya VI) was ruling from the capital city of Jayantipura. It records the grant of 15 *ereyakeyimattar* of land to one Mallikārjjuna-paṇḍita in the

service of the god Mallikārjjunadēva at Kuḍiyalli, the headquarters of Kuḍiyame - 40 jointly by *mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Raviyarasa, *mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Kētamallarasa and *mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Mummaḍichōḷarasa.

Of the three donors, Raviyarasa is also known from the third record wherein he is stated to have granted lands etc., to one Siṅgarāsi - paṇḍita in the service of god Mūlasthānadēva. He is introduced in this record in identical passages as in the former record in which his relationship with Bhuvanaikamalla is stated. He receives in both the inscriptions the subordinate epithets of *samadhigata paṁcha - mahāśabda*, *mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara*, *viramāhēśvara* and *Ayōdhyāpuravarādhīśvara*. The epithet *Ayōdhyāpuravarādhīśvara* borne by this chief is interesting. In the third epigraph Raviyarasa referred to as Reviyarasa is probably a mistake of the engraver. Though we are not aware of any daughter of Bhuvanaikamalla - mahārāja *i. e.*, Sōmēśwara II,[6] it may be inferred from the expression *aḷiya* described in our record, that he had a daughter who was given in marriage to Raviyarasa. Thus the first inscription reveals the name of a hitherto unknown son-in-law of the Chāḷukya emperor Sōmēśwara II. It may be suggested from the epithet of Raviyarasa that he might have come from the Telugu - Chōḷa family. It is quite likely that this king must have sided with Sōmēśvara II against Vikramāditya VI in the fratricidal wars fought between the two during the period of accession of the latter to the Chāḷukyaṇ throne. Raviyarasa appears to have been one of the feudatories of Sōmēśvara II who assisted his overlord. In recognition of his services Sōmēśvara must have given his daughter in marriage to Raviyarasa or to retain the throne this king should have entered into matrimonial alliance with the Telugu - Chōḷa chief by giving his daughter in marriage.

The reference to this chief as a subordinate of Vikramāditya in his record is an indirect evidence in support of the success gained by Vikramāditya VI in the consolidation of his power in the southern region. Since the record refer to Raviyarasa as a *mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* as late as 1122 A. D., it may be surmised that he continued to owe his allegiance to his new master.

The Telugu - Chōḷas might have come to possess the Kuḍiyame territory. The record does not, however, refer to his rule over over this region.

The third inscription which is also dated Chālukya - Vikrama era 45 refers to the rule of Tribuvanamalla (i. e., Vikramāditya VI). Though the cyclic year is not given, the other details of date *viz.*, Vaiśākha, puṇṇame, Sunday seems to suggest that this record is earlier in date than the first record. On April 23, 1122 A. D. Sunday, we find *Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Re(Ra) viyarasa and *mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara* Mummaḍi - Chōḷarasa making gifts of land and oil - mill to one Siṅgarāsi - paṇḍita of Kuḍiya [ḷi]. This Reviyarasa is undoubtedly the same as Raviyarasa of the first record wherein he is described as the son-in-law of Bhuvanaikamalla. If the term *aḷiya* means 'nephew' then it is possible to interpret that Raviyarasa might have been a nephew *i. e.*, the son of Suggaladēvi,[7] who is mentioned as a *taṁge* or younger sister of Bhuvanaikamalla in a record of Sōmēśvara II from Niḍugundi dated in 1076 A. D.

Another chief who is referred to as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* is *Kētumallarasa.* Except the first inscription, wherein he figures in the feudatory capacity, the other two inscriptions does not refer to him at all. The chiefs Kētamallarasa and Mummaḍi - Chōḷarasa belong to the Telugu Chōḷa family as they bear the epithets *dinagara - kulanaṁdana, Karikāl - ānvaya, Kāvērīnāṭha,* etc., characteristic of the family. Further they are described as *Oṟeyūr - pura-varādhīś-vara.* The place Oṟeyūr referred to here is the same as the present Uraiyūr near Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi in Tamil-nadu. The *praśasti* commencing with *Aridurdharavara,* etc., which is found mentioned in one of the records is generally used in all the Telugu - Chōḷa inscriptions.

The records referring to these chiefs mention their emblem, the peacock and their crest, the rampant lion (*uttuṁga siṁha - lāñchhana*).

The second record under review does not refer to the name of the reigning king. This record dated in the Chālukya - Vikrama - era 47, Nandana, Chaitra, Amā-vāsē, Sunday, solar - eclipse also belongs to the period of Vikramāditya VI. The details of the date are irregular. This record refers to three other subordinate chiefs *daṇḍanāyaka Ananthadēva, daṇḍanāyaka* Sōvarasa and *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Māсharasa. It registers a grant of one *paṇa* from the *Vaḍḍarāvuḷa* income realised from Kuḍiyali - sthaḷa by Anantadē, one *paṇa* from the *herjjuṅka* and *bilkoḍe* taxes by Sōvarasa and also a grant of land, garden, oil-mill etc., for the purpose of a perpetual lamp to the deity Mallikārjjunadēva of Kuḍiya-peya - sthaḷa. Anantadēva referred to in our record may be identified with Ananta-pāla, the famous general and minister of Vikramāditya VI. This identification is supported by a number of epigraphs more so from a record of 1118 A. D., from Kommūru in Guntur District[8] which states that he was ruling from Vēṅgī - fourteen thousand. The identification of Māсharasa with Māchimayya-nāyaka of the Appikoṇḍa record[9] is doubtful since the area over which Māchimayya-nāyaka ruled is entirely different and far away from the place Kuḍiyapeya - sthaḷa. The tract Kuḍiyape - forty comprised the areas of the Dharma-varam and Anantapur Taluks. Kuḍiyape - 40, the division in which the village Togarikuṇṭe is stated to have been situated according to a record of Vikramāditya VI[10]. is the region around Togarakuṇṭa in Dharma-varam Taluk of Anantapur District. Kuḍi-yalli, the headquarters of Kuḍiyame - 40 may probably be identified with Reḍḍipalle in Anantapur Taluk and District.

TEXT[11]

First Inscription

1 Nama[s=tu]ṅga śiraḥ ch = chumbi chaṁdra chā -

2 mara chāravē Trailōkya - nagar = āraṁbha mū -

3 la-staṁbhāya Saṁbhavē svasti samasta - bhuvan - ā-

4 śraya śrī - pri(pṛi)thvīvallabha mahārājādhirāja para -
5 mēśvara paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ Satyās(ś)raya - kuḷa - tiḷakaṁ Chāḷu -
6 ky = ābharaṇaṁ śrīmat = Tribhuvanamalladēvara vijayarājya -
7 m = uttar = ōttar - ābhivṛiddhi - pravarddhamānam = āchaṁdr - arkka tārambaraṁ sa -
8 luttam = iralu Jayaṁtīpurada nelavīḍinoḷu sukha - saṁkatāvinō -
9 dadiṁ rājyaṁ geyyuttamire ॥ Svasti samadhigata - paṁcha - mahāśabda mahāma -
10 ṇḍaḷēśvara Ayōdhyā - pura - var = ādhīs(ś)vara vīra - mahēśvara Belvā[ṇāḷa] - āha -
11 va sāhasa paribaḷamalla jayad - uttaraṁgaṁ baṁṭara bāvaṁ samasta -
12 rājyās(ś)rayaṁ samasta prasa(śa)sti sahitaṁ śrīman - mā(ma)hā - maṇḍaḷēśvaraṁ
13 Bhuvanaikamalla - mahārājar = aḷiyaṁ Raviyarasaruṁ . . . .
14 svasti . . . . vara bhujāsi bhāsura prachaṇḍa - pradyōtita dinakara - kula -
15 naṁdanaṁ sukadhi suka paḷita naṁdanaṁ Kāśyapa - gōtra Karikāl - ānvaya
16 satyarādhitaneyaṁ Kāvērīnātha bandhujana . . . . . paṟe - ghōsha -
17 ṇaṁ prasanna - guṇaratna - bhūshaṇam . . . . makara - dhvajaṁ vividha vi -
18 dyā - viriṁchanam = uttuṁga siṁha - lāṁchanan = Oṟeyūrp - pura varādhī -
19 śvaraṁ kīrttigadh - īśvara śatru - para sūṟekāṟaṁ [ka]ḷadaṁkakāṟam - ārvva[lē]ḷu -
20 [vu]ṁ malevaraṁkuśaṁ nāmādi samasta prase(śa)sti - sahitaṁ śrīman - mahā -
21 maṇḍaḷēśvaraṁ Kētamallarasaruṁ śrīman - mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvaram Muṁmaḍi -
22 Chōḷarasaruṁ । svasti śrī Chāḷukya - vikrama varshada 45 neya Sārvvari -
23 saṁvatsarada Jai(Jyē)shṭad - amāvāsya Ādivāradaṁdu Sōmagrahaṇa nimittavāgi
24 Kuḍiya[me]nālavattaṟa rājadhāni Kuḍiyalliya śrī Mallikārjunadēvargge . .
25 [yarasaru] Mallikārjuna - paṇḍitargge dhārāpūrvvakaṁ māḍi . .
26 . . . . biṭṭa ereyakeyimattaru 15
27 . . . . . dharmmavan ā . . . yuṁ pratipāḷi[si]da . . . . .
28 . . Kurukshētra Prayāgeyalu . . . . . .
29 . . . . kavile. . .
30 duṁ kāḷagu ma . . . . .kasidu nā -
31 tta phaḷada hōdan - aḷida. . . . . .Vāraṇāsi
32 .ya dvi - brāhmaṇaru . . . . .dōsha . .

33 Svadattaṁ paradattaṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharā shashṭir = varisha -

34 sahasrāyāṁ mishṭāyāṁ jayatē krimi ॥ Svasti[12]

Second Inscription

35 śrīmach = Chāḷukya - vikrama - variśa(sha)da 47 neya srāheya Naṁdana -

36 saṁvatsarada Chaitrad = amāvāsey - Ādivāradaṁdu sūryya - graha -

37 ṇa - nimittavāgi śrīmad = daṇḍanāyakan = Anantadēvaṁ śrī - Mallikārjunadēvara na -

38 ndādīvige Kuḍiyali - staḷa[deya] vaḍḍarāvuḷada . . gaḷe biṭṭa paṇa 1 śrīmad = daṇḍa -

39 nāyakaṁ Sōvarasaru Kuḍiyāpeya - staḷada Mallikārjuna - dēvara nandā -

40 dīvigege herjju[ṁ*]kadalli [guttage] biṭṭa paṇa 1 mahāmaṇḍaḷē -

41 śvaraṁ Mācharasaru Ku -

42 ḍiyapeya - staḷa -

43 da Mallikārjjuna -

44 maṁdira nandādīvi -

45 gege biṭṭa

46 . . . . . .

47 haḷḷada baḍa -

48 gada bayalu

49 hūvina giḍa -

50 viṁge biṭṭa tō -

51 ṭa mattaru 1

52 nandādīvigege

53 biṭṭa gāṇa 1

54 gāṇadamane

55 yoḷagāgi bi -

56 ṭṭa mane 4 . .

57 ṛinalu biṭṭa

58 ele 50

59 Bahubiḥ - uva(r=vva)

60 suđhā datta rā -
61 jabhiḥ Ṣagarā -
62 đibhiḥ [*।] yasya
63 yasya ya -
64 dā bhūmis = ta -
65 sya tasya ta -
66 dā phalaṁ(m) [*॥]

Third Inscription

1 Samasta - bhuvanāsra(-āśraya) śrī - pṛithvīvallabha - ma. . . .
2 . . . . mēśvara - paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāsra(śra) -
3 . . . . kyābharaṇaṁ śrīmat = Tribhuvanamalla -
4 . . . . ttar = ōttar = ābhivṛiddhi pravarddhamānam = [ā]
5 chaṁdr - ārkkatāraṁ [bha](ba)[raṁ] saluttam = ire ॥ Svasti samadhigata paṁcha-mahāsa(śa)bda [mahāma*] -
6 ṇḍaḷēśvara [A]yōdhyā-pura-varādhīśvara vīramāhēśvara Belvānegaḷḷal - ira -
7 . hatan - āhava sāhasa paribaḷamalla jayad - uttaraṁga [ja] -
8 . . . [vaṁ]samasta rājāsra(śra) yaṁ nāmādi samasta prasa(śa)sti sahi -
9 . . man - ma[hā]maṇḍaḷēśvaraṁ Reviyarasaru ॥ svasti
10 . . . pradyōtita dinakara kulanaṁdana śuka vipuḷa -
11 naṁdanaṁ Kāśyapa - gōtraṁ nri(nṛi)pakuḷa - pavitraṁ Karikāl - ānvaya
12 . . . . taneyaṁ Kāvērī-nāthaṁ bandhujana - pārijātaṁ kaṁ -
13 . . . . gōshaṇaṁ prasanna guṇaratna - bhūśa(sha)ṇaṁ sikhi - sikha -
14 makara - dhva[jam] vividha vidyāviriṁchanan = uttuṁ. .
15 lāṁchana[n-O]ṛeyūra - pura-varādhīsvaraṁ Kīrttigadhī . . . .
16 Śrīman - mahāmaṇḍaḷē -
17 śvara [Mu*]mmaḍi - Chō[ḷarasaru]
18 [Chā*]ḷukya - [Vikrama] varishađa 45 -
19 [neya] Vaiśākhađa puṇṇame Ādi -
20 [tyavāradali] Mūlasthānađa
21 [dē*]varige [Kuḍiyaḷi] Siṁgarāsi - paṇḍitargge biṭṭa nigara matta [ru*]

22 gāṇa 1 saha 1 tōsojjaheṟiṁ ye -

23 . vudu yi(yē) da(dha)rmma kāvanu vū -

24 ru kavileyaṁ vaḍegada dōsa[kke][13]

Notes :-

1 *A R S I E.*, 1941-42, Nos. B. 69.

2 *Ibid.*, No. 70.

3 *Ibid.*, No. 71.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 106.

5 B. R Gopal refers *(Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, p. 45) to an inscription from Nāgavanda, Hirekerur Taluk, Dharwar District belonging to Chāḷukya Vikrama era 45, Śārvvari as the one falling in the reign period of Vikramāditya VI. Taking the date of Raibag inscription as Vikramāditya VI's first year, the details of the date given for this record are irregular for that year and for the previous years too.

6 B. R. Gopal, The *Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa*, p. 245.

7 *A R I E.*, 1961-62, No. B. 566.

8 *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 196.

9 *A R S I E.*, 1941-42, No. B. 2.

10 *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 221.

11 From impressions.

12 The second inscription commences from line 34 onwards.

13 The inscription abruptly stops here.

13 A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF PAIRS OF INDUS SIGNS WITH JAR OR LANCE

Abdul Huq and Gift Siromoney

1. Introduction

One of the questions frequently asked about the Indus script is whether it represents any systematic writing at all. Even those who agree that the writings of the Harappan Civilization are not a haphazard arrangement of signs are at variance with one another regarding the language of the script[1]. Our purpose in the area of Harappan studies is to analyse the script in order to bring out the statistical structure[2], of the texts.

To understand the semantic connection between words in modern languages, it is the practice[3] to examine the habitual collocation of items and to investigate the level of gradation in collocability with reference to a given word.

In this paper, we make use of the tables of frequencies of pairs that Mahadevan has presented in his *Concordance*[4] and examine whether the proximity between the signs forming a pair could be attributed to chance or not[5]. Mahadevan has studied seven terminal signs and interpreted them as ideograms[6].

Here we are mainly in the *jar* (B) and the *lance* (E) signs (Table 1) and their association with the other signs. The choice of the *jar* is due to the fact that it is the most frequently occurring sign in the Indus texts. Another reason is that it has received more than its share of interpretations. It has been variously interpreted as representing *Ur* and as an affix or suffix and also as a determinative or case-ending[7].

The *lance* is another terminal sign which seems to be functionally similar to the *jar*. We examine the pairs that each of these two signs form with sixty-five other common signs, which occur more than fifty times.

If a pair of signs occurs a large number of times, it is often concluded that there is some association or affinity between the two signs. In this paper, we go a step further and measure the extent of affinity. Our analysis is based on the fact that how large the frequency of a pair is, depends on how often each of the two signs occurs in pairs in that position. It enables one to develop an index, which measures the level of attraction or repulsion (or the lack of either) between two signs occurring next to each other.

2. Measurement of affinity and antiaffinity

Let us consider a specific example. Of the 9780 pairs listed in the concordance *jar* follows *fish* 44 times, 1332 pairs have *jar* on the left and 324 pairs have *fish* on the right. Hence we see that about 14% of all the pairs have *jar* on their left and consequently we would expect, in all the pairs with *fish* (F) on the right the sign on the left must be *jar* (B) 14% of times (i. e. 44 times), if there is no ground for attraction or repulsion

between the two signs. The number obtained in this way under the hypothesis of chance is referred to as the theoretical frequency.

In this example we see that the observed frequency coincided with the theoretical frequency, leading to the conclusion that the occurrence of the pair BF(*jar*+*fish*) is purely due to chance. Usually there will be a discrepancy between the two frequencies, which provides a measure of departure from the hypothesis of chance. On the basis of this discrepancy, we construct an index, whose value varies from 100 to 100. The numerical value of the index specifies the confidence with which we reject the hypothesis of chance and the direction of the index indicates the hypothesis favoured by the empirical evidence. If the index is positive, it is favourable to the hypothesis of affinity and if it is negative, it goes in favour of the hypothesis of antiaffinity.

To consider another example, the pair BV(*jar*+*harrow*) has an index value of 97. It means that there is a 97% chance that there is affinity between *jar* and *harrow* signs. On the other hand, the pair BA (*jar*+*mortar*) has an index value of -97. It follows that there is a 97% chance that there is some sort of repulsion between the two signs forming the pair.

3. The *jar* sign

The *jar*(B), the *lance*(E) and the *harrow* (V) are some of the most common signs that occur in the terminal position of a text, either alone or with one or two terminal signs. An analysis like this should show that pairs made up of certain terminal signs should have a high value for the index of affinity. This happens with reference to certain pairs. For example, BV, BV, BD where D is the *forked mortar*, have values ranging from 97 to 100 for the index of affinity. On the other hand, we do not expect B(*jar*) sign to occur together with initial signs. The index must show antiaffinity and that is exactly what happens in the following pairs, BP, BQ, and BR where P is the *diamond*, Q is the *double stroke* and R is the *wheel* sign respectively. For the index, they have the value -100 each. Even though the first pair actually occurs eleven times, it is far too low compared to the expected frequency of 48, if their occurrence is purely due to chance.

One would expect the *jar* to have affinity with most of the signs occurring in the medial position. However the following pairs formed with the *fish* signs, namely G, H, I and J where G, H, I and J are *one-eyed fish*, *slashed fish*, *capped fish*, and *horned fish* respectively, show an antiaffinity with the index ranging from -100 to 95. This is surprising. The following pairs also have high antiaffinity : FB, HB, IB and JB. However this can be explained in a different manner. Such pairs occur hardly two or three times in the text. It is quite possible that the text ends (read from right to left) at the terminal sign namely the *jar* sign, and a new text begins with the *fish* sign.

The following pairs have an affinity index of 100 : BK and BM, where K and M are the *fat crab* and the *open path* signs respectively. These should be compared with the following pairs, which have a high index of antiaffinity : BL and BN

where L and N are the *lean crab* and the *closed path* respectively. This shows that even though the *fat crab* and the *lean crab* as well as the *open* path and the *closed path* signs look alike, they are not mutually interchangeable. The pair BB which occurs only once has an expected frequency of 56 and hence has an index of -100 showing antiaffinity between members of the pair. Either the right sign occurs there by error or the same sign is used in a different sense.

4. The *lance* sign

As pointed out earlier, the *lance* sign (E) is also a frequently occurring terminal sign. It does not occur together at all with the jar(B) sign, which is another terminal sign. The pairs EB and BE have a negative value for index, showing that they have antiaffinity and in Mahadevan's *Concordance* they have only zero frequency. However the *lance* occurs together with the *harrow*(V) sign. The pairs EV and VE have an index of affinity of 100. With the common initial signs, it has antiaffinity as one would expect : EP, EC and ER.

This being a terminal sign, one would expect it to have affinity with most of the medial signs. In fact, the *lance*(E) has affinity with four of the *fish* signs. The following pairs have a high positive value for the index : EF, EH, EI and EJ. However, its occurring together with the fifth *fish* sign, namely *capped fish*, could be mainly due to chance. On the other hand, we wish to recall the fact that the *jar* sign did not have any affinity with the following *fish* signs : G, H, I and J. Therefore it is clear that the *jar* and the *lance* signs are not mutually interchangeable. Any one who tries to give values, phonetic or alphabetic, to the signs must be able to explain this and such differences, which are brought out by a study of this kind.

5. Right and left affinity

When two signs the *jar*(B) and the *forked jar*(D) occur together forming the pair BD, given that the right sign is D, what are the chances that the left sign is B ?. In other words, what is the left affinity of the *forked jar* with respect to the *jar* on its left ? The index of the left affinity is 97. That is, given that D is on the right, in 97% of cases, it will be followed by B. In contrast to this, the right affinity index of the *jar* is only 8. i. e. given that the *jar* has occurred, there is only 8% change that it is preceded by the *forked jar*. Similarly, in the pair BV, the left affinity index of the *harrow* is 26, while the right affinity of the *jar* is only 1%. The following pairs have a high value for the affinity index discussed earlier : BS, BK, BT and BU, where S, K, T and U denote the *deity*, the *fat crab*, the *crown* and the *hill* signs respectively. In all the four pairs, the *jar* sign has a very low value for the right affinity index, which ranges from 1 to 7. All the signs on the right side have much large values for their left affinity towards the *jar* sign. These values range from 30 to 93. The left index values for the *deity*, the *fat crab*, the *crown* and *hill* signs are 93, 33, 51 and 30 respectively. Any one who interprets and gives values to the Indus signs will have to account for these and other findings.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have considered those pairs of signs which include either the *jar* or the *lance* signs. A paper dealing with the analysis of pairs containing a large set of signs will be presented elsewhere. We propose to computerize many of the calculations and extend the study from pairs to triplets of signs.

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5 Abdul Huq *Mathematical Analysis of the Indus Script*, M. Phil dissertation, Madras, 1983.

6 Iravatham Mahadevan, Terminal ideograms in the Indus Script, *Harappan Civilization*, Gregory L. Possehl, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1982, pp. 311-317.

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14 BAGH HOARD OF COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS

S. K. Bajpai

During the month of August, 1982 a hoard containing twenty seven copper plate inscriptions was found in village Bagh-Resawala, situated in the Kukshi Tahsil of Dhar district in Madhya Pradesh. While ploughing, the plates were unearthed by two persons Kuwar Singh and Gulab Singh who divided the hoard and tried to sell it at Kukshi and Indore. Getting information, the District Police of Dhar seized all the copper plates along with a piece of container, and kept it deposited in the Police Station. Under Indian Treasure Trove Act of 1878, the Collector, informed the matter to the Archeology and Museums, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh and handed over the antiquities for preservation in the museum.

The copper plates in question are found badly effected on account of soil deposition. Therefore these are being chemically treated in the departmental laboratory. Following is the brief report of examination and observation made by the author.

Out of the twenty seven copper plates, only two are cut into two parts, the remaining well preserved. They measure approximately 17 to 33 cm. in length, 10 to 14 cm. in breadth and 2.5 to 2 32 mm. in thickness. The inscriptions incised on different plates range from 7 to 12 lines.

The character are Brāhmī of about the 4–5 th century A. D. The language is Sanskrit.

All the grants are issued from Valkha. Their main object is to record the assent of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* ruler on the gift of a field termed as *brahmadēya*. The donees belong to various *gōtras*. Besides geographically locating the donated field and the village, a few grants also refer to the territorial division of Dāsilakapalli-rāṣṭra near the river Narmadā.

The records belonging to different rulers may by classified as under.

Thirteen plates mention the name of *Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍa. Ten plates are dated respectively in the years 47, 55, 56, 57, 59, 104 and 107 and the date of remaining three are not clear. *Mahārāja* Svāmidāsa is mentioned in five plates, four of them belonging to years 63, 65 and 68 and the year of the fifth plate is not clear. A special feature about the hoard is that it brings to light two new rulers of the dynasty, *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Nāgabhaṭa* unknown to history till now. The grants of the first one correspond to years 29 and 36 while the dates of the latter one are not readable. The rest of the five plates belong to Rudradāsa. Four of them have the years 66, 69, 7‿ and 108 and the date in the fifth is not clear. Excepting one copper plate, the remaining have signatures of rulers on the left hand margin of the plates. A descriptive list of each copper plate is given below.

Before the discovery of the present hoard, only eight grants of this dynasty were known and their genealogy[1] was constructed tentatively as under :—

1. Bhuluṇḍa	I	:	Year 38–47 (77?)[2]
2. Rudradāsa	I	:	Year 67
3. Svāmidāsa		:	Year 67
4. Bhuluṇḍa	II	:	Year 107
5. Rudradāsa	II	:	Year 117
6. Subandhu		:	Year 167

In the light of the new discovery the old theory will have to be revised. The grants of Bhaṭṭāraka and Nāgabhaṭa are found for the first time. The date of Bhaṭṭāraka puts him as the predecessor of Bhulaṇḍa I. The ruling year of Nāgabhaṭa is not yet clear. Therefore, his period still remains doubtful. On the basis of these dates, the genealogy of the rulers of Valkha may now be reconstructed as under :–

1. Bhaṭṭāraka		:	Year 29–36
2. Bhuluṇḍa	I	:	Year 38–59
3. Svāmidāsa		:	Year 63–68
4. Rudradāsa	I	:	Year 66–70
5. Bhuluṇḍa	II	:	Year 104–107
6. Rudradāsa	II	:	Year 108–117
7. Subandhu		:	Year 167
8. Nāgabhaṭa		:	Year not readable.

R. C. Majumdar[3], G. S. Gai[4], and D. C. Sircar[5] refer these dates to the Gupta era, while V. V. Mirashi[6] refers them to Ābhirā era of A. D. 249. His argument is that the Gupta era was not current in the Anūpa country in the time of these Mahārājas of Valkha, and they could not have been subordinate to the Guptas and also could not have been using the Gupta era. But on the contrary, as argued by D.C. Sircar, it seems more reasonable to believe tha the Mahārājas of Valkha were feudatories of the Guptas and the dates of their grants were recorded in the Gupta era[7].

As for the identification of geographical names, Valkha is undoubtedly the present village Bagh from where all these plates have been found. The city was close to the river Narmadā, and this is signified by the statements made in most of the grants. The Bagh caves and their paintings are famous for fine workmanship of the Gupta period. It can be presumed that the feudatories of the Gupta emperers were ruling there assuming imperial titles such as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* in 4–5th century A. D. Under their patronage Bagh witnessed the art as a creativity of the Golden Age.

In support of the above theory, mention may be made of the discovery of nine gold Gupta coins from Pagārā in Manawar Tahsil of Dhar, which is very close to the find-spot of the present hoard of copper plate inscriptions. One is convinced that the whole reigion was under the Gupta soverignity. The adoption of the Gupta era was thus a natural corollary.

Other historical places mentioned in the inscriptions must be located somewhere in the Dhar district. A detailed study of each inscription[8] will be helpful to precisely identify the places mentioned.

LIST OF COPPER PLATES :

1 Ten lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year 59 Āśvina badi 3.

2 Nine lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Svāmidāsasya : Year 63 Karttika badi.

3 Nine lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year 55 Śrāvaṇa śu 2.

4 Eight lined inscription ; Margin–Blank ; inscription mentions '*Mahārāja* Bhaṭṭa-raka' : Year 36 Jyēshṭha śu 1.

5 Eight lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year 104 Māgha śu 6.

6 Eight lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Rudrạdāsasya' : Year 66 Ashāḍha śu 2.

7 Nine lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhaṭṭārakasya' : Year 29 Śrāvaṇa śu.

8 Nine lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year 55 Jyēsṭha śu 7.

9 Seven lined inscription ; Margin–'Bhaṭṭārakasya śāsanaḥ' : Year 29 Kārttika śu 7 (cut in to two parts).

10 Nine lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Rudradāsasya' : Year 69 Chaitra śu 3.

11 Eight lined inscription ; Margin–*Svāmi* Nārāyaṇadāsasya-Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year 47 Pausha ba. (cut into two parts)

12 Nine lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Nāgabhaṭasya' : Year not clear : month Vaiśākha śu 2.

13 Eight lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year 56.

14 Eight lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year 104.

15 Nine lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year 57 Phālguna ba 3.

16 Nine lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year not clear.

17 Eight lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Rudradāsasya' : Year 70 Jyēshṭha śu.5.

18 Nine lined inscription : Margin–'*Mahārāja* Svāmidāsasya' : Year 65 Bhādrapada ba.2.

19 Eight lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year 107 Chaitra śu.2.

20 Seven lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Rudradāsasya' : Year not clear.

21 Eight lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Svāmidāsasya' : Year 68 Asāḍha....

22 Ten lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Svāmidāsasya' : Year 65.

23 Eight lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year 104 Vaiśākha śu.3.

24 Seven lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year : not clear.

25 Eight lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍasya' : Year : not clear.

26 Nine lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Rudradāsasya' : Year 108 Jyēshṭha śu.5.

27 Nine lined inscription ; Margin–'*Mahārāja* Svāmidāsasya' : Year : not clear.

1 *JESI.*, Vol. VII (1980), p. 95.

2 *JOI.*, Vol. XXVIII (2) Dec. 1978, pp. 38.

3 *E.I.*, Vol. XV, p. 286.

4 *Indian History Congress, Calcutta* (1974) : Epigraphy Section Presidential Address.

5 *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 150ff.

6 Khare, *Malva Through the Ages*, p. 231.

7 *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 150ff.

8 These copper plates have been copied by the office of the Chief Epigraphist and they are being edited [Ed.]

15 THE ROYAL SEALS OF THE ANDHRA DYNASTIES

C. A. Padmanabha Sastry

The vast area of the Andhra Country was ruled by more than half a dozen dynaties. Each dynasty has its own emblem and seal. The emblem can be seen on the seals which are generally found attached to the copper-plate charters. In case the set contains more than one plate they are strung together to a ring which passes through a hole. The seal is then soldered to the ring. The seals are usually round in shape though we have other shapes too.

In a number of cases the figures on the seals have bearing on the religious leanings of the concerned royal dynasty. Some of the seals of the various dynasties have the image of bull, bear, fish, etc., which indicate different religious leanings. In a few cases the seals have the figures of the animals like elephant, cow, tiger etc. In case of many seals we also find legends along with symbols referred to above more often than not the seals have the titles of the kings on them. Generally the victorious kings wrest the royal emblems of the defeated kings. The Nēsarikā grant of Gōvinda III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty[1] is the best example to know the various *lāñchchhanas* of the different kings. It reads:

Pāṇḍya-dēś-ādhipān=matsyaṁ
vṛishabham Pal!avēśvarāt ।
Chōḷād=vvāghraṁ gajaṁ Gaṁga
ch=chāpa yashṭim cha Kēraḷāt ॥
Aṁdhra-Chālukya=Mauryēbhyō
Vārāhaṁ Pallavēśvarat ।
Kōsal-Āvaṁtī-nāthābhyāṁ
Siṁhalād=api nāmakaṁ
Tātāṁ bhagavatiṁ khyātāṁ
Dharmād=Vaṁgala bhūmipāt ।
Ittaham=ētāny=ath=anyāni Chihnāny
=ā dāya bhū bhujaṁ ।
Garuḍ-aṁkō jagattuṁgō vvadhattā
sakalaṁ jagat ॥

In the following pages it is proposed to discuss the various seals of different kings and their officials who ruled the Āndhra Country from the earliest times to the fifteenth century.

We do not have direct evidence regarding the seals of the Sātavāhanas and the Ikshvākus, the early dynasties of the Āndhra Country. In case of the formers, it is stated that they had lion for their emblem.[2] This was deduced from the fact that the Sātavāhanas had lion symbol on their coins. However, it must be remembered that apart from lion the coins of the Sātavāhanas had on them the representation of hill, ship, *svastika* etc. The same is the case with the Ikshvākus also. However, the seals discovered in the excavations at Vardhamānapuram[3](Warangal District), Peddabankur[4], Dhūḷikaṭṭa[5] (Karimnagar District) and some other sites in Andhra Pradesh reveal the existence of the seals, probably issued by rulers. The seal discovered at Vardhamānapuram contains a horse symbol with a legend arround the seal. The legends reads *Mahātala-*

varasa viyasāmikasa sava sadha' The coin also reads the same legend on the obverse and the reverse contains three arches with dots in between them. Another terracotta seal discovered at Peddabankur contains a legend in brāhmī characters of the Ikshvāku period. It reads *vijayapura-hara kasa rathasa.* A beautiful ivory button seal discovered at Dhūlikaṭṭa shows a legend *Aļani Siriya Game Kumariya* in the same characters as the one mentioned above.

Among the copper plate charters of the Andhra dynasties the Maidavōlu charter of Pallava Śivaskandavarman[6] is the earliest, as yet discovered, copper-plate grant. The seal of this set is important as it is earliest one which contains a legend apart from the bull (*Vṛishabha*) representation. The legend *Śivaska* . . . . which is undoubtedly the name of the king. The *lāñchchana* and the *dhvaja* of the early Pallavas were *vṛishabha* and *khaṭvānga* respectively which attest to the fact that the Pallavas had leanings towards Śaivism.

The Bṛihatphalāyanas, the contemporary of the Early Pallavas, have a lone copper-plate charter viz, the Koṇḍamuḍi plates. The seal contains a trident, a bow, the crescent, and an indistinct symbol in trigangular in shape. The legend '*Brihatphalāyana sagōtrasya mahārāja-Śrī-Jayavarmmaṇah'* runs along the pheriphery of the seal[7]. It is an important seal in more than one aspect. Firstly, it contains the longest legend found on the seals of any copper-plate charter discovered so far in the Andhra Country. Secondly, it contains more than one symbol. Both the legend and the symbols depicted on the seal suggest that they belong to powerful royal members who propably attained independent status after the downfall of the Ikshvākus. The *trident* shows their religious leanings towards Śaivism.

The Ānanda kings had two types of seals on their copper-plate charters. The seal of the Maṭṭipāḍu plates of Dāmōdaravarman[8] bears the figure of *vṛishabha* as seen in the Early Pallava charters, while the seal of Gōraṇṭla plates of Attivarman has the figure of a seated or cross legged saint.[9] However, this figure is not quite distnict on the seal. There is no legend in either of the two seals. The occurrance of the figure of a saint on the seal of the Ānanda charter is interesting in that the kings of this family claim their descent from a sage called Ānanda. Hence it may not be improboble that the king Attivarman might have choson the figure of the sage Ānanda to be represented on his seal as a token of respect.

While the Śālaṅkāyanas, who had *vṛishabha* as their symbol on their seals, ruled the southern part of the Āndhra country, the Māṭhāra kings ruled the Kalinga on the northern side of the Āndhra. We find the different types of seals attached to the charters of the Māṭhāra kings of Kalinga. In the first type, they used the legend *Pitṛibhaktāḥ*, which is evidenced by the seal of the Kōmarti plates of Chaṇḍavarman.[10] This legend is interesting as the kings of this dynasty describe themselves as *Bappa-bhaṭṭārakd-pāda bhaktāḥ* which means that they are devoted to the feet of their fathers. It may be noted that the expression *Piṭribhaktāḥ* also means the same. In the second type,

they used the donor's name on the seal. For example in the Bṛihatprōshṭha grant of Umāvarman[11] and the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman[12], we can find the names of the kings *raj-ōmāvarmaṇah* and *mahā-rāja-Śaktivarmaṇah* respectively.

The Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty have more than half-a-dozen copper-plate charters. The seals of the charters of these kings bear figures of both lion and bull. The seal of the Rāmatīrtham plates of Indravarman[13] bears a fiant figure of a pouncing lion, faceing proper right, with its fore-paw raised, neck erect, mouth-wide open and tail raised above the back with a loop at the end. This seal has no legend. The seal of the Īpūru plates of Mādhavavarman II (year 37)[14] has a lion with a lamp on either side and sun and moon and legend which reads : 1) *Śrī Mādhava* 2) *Varmmā*. Another set from the same place of the same king (year 47) has a seal which is divided horizontally into the halves. The upper half of the seal bears a damaged figure of a lion facing right and the lower half has the legend, *Śrī Mādhava* In this context it is interesting to note that the inscription of Mādhavavarman from Vēlpuru[15] bears two lions facing each other and resting on their forelegs. Their back portions are raised. Among the seals of the Vishṇukuṇḍim, the Tuṇḍi copper-plate charter of Vikramēndṛavarman[16] bears the humped bull (*Vṛishabha*) on its seal. The seal does not bear any legend.. Some of the coins of the Vishṇukuṇḍins particularly the coins of Vikramēndravarman bear the symbol of lion. This suggests that while the early kings of this dynasty used the lion on their seals, the seals of the later kings had the figure of a bull, which indicate their leaning towards Śaivism.

Coming to the seals of the Eastern Chālukya grants they show a variety of legends and symbols. Most of the seals of their charters have the figure of *varāha* on them. It is worth noting in this context that the Eastern Chālukya kings claim to have obtained the *varāha-lāñch-chhana* as a boon from the god Nārāyaṇa (*bhagavān-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda sam-āsādita-vara-varāha-lāñchchhanānām*) as evidenced by the *praśasti* recorded in their copper-plate charters. However, the legends on the seals of their charters differ in some cases. While the seal of the Satāra copper-plate charter contains the legend *Śrī Bittarasa*[17] the Timmīpuram copper plate charter has the legend *Vishamasiddhi*.[18] This suggests that the earlier one was issued by Vishṇuvardhana when he was *yuvarāja* and the latter one was issued by him as an independent king. This title and legend have also been used by Vishṇuvardhana III. The successor of Vishṇuvarddhana III, namely Jayasimha I bears a different title. His Peddamaddāli[19] and Peda-Vēgi plates[20] contain the legend *Śrī Sarvva-siddhi* and usual *varāha* symbol. *Tyāgadhēnu* is found along with usual *varāha*, sun and moon on the seal of the Koṇḍanaguru plates of the Eastern Chālukya Indravarman.[21] He is the only king bearing the title *Tyāga dhēnu*. The legend *Vijayasiddhi* is engraved for the first time along with usual *varāha* on the seal of the Chandaluru plates of Sarvvalōkāśraya[22] who is identified with Mangiyuvarāja I. We know that this is one of the titles of Maṁgi Yuvarāja as a fragmentary copper-plate charter of the reign of his grandson refers to Mangi Yuvarāja with the title *Abhilashitakāryya*

Vijayasiddhi.[23] This titte *Vijayasiddhi* is used by the successors of Mangi Yuvarāja namely Kokkili, Mangi Yuvarāja II and Vikramāditya, who ruled the Madhyama Kalinga area. Vishṇuvardhana II used two titles namely *Sarvvasiddhi* and *Vishama-siddhi* in his Niḍuparṟu[24] and Koṇeki[25] grants. Most interesting feature is that none of these grants contain the usual *varāha*. The legend *Śrī Tribhuvanāṁkuśa* appears for the first time in the seal of Pasubharṟu grant of the king Vishṇuvardhana III. This legend continues to be found on the seals of the copper-plate charters of the successive kings of the dynasty.

As the fame of this dynasty grew, some of the kings of this dynasty used a a number of auspicious symbols. The seal of the Sātalūru grant of Guṇaga Vijayaditya III contains all the symbols like *Varāha*, *aṅkuśa*, *sūrya* and *chandra* and the legend *Tribhuvan-āṁkuśa.*[26] The *aṅkuśa* is depicted on the seals for the first time in the history of the Eastern Chālukya in particular. The significance of *aṅkuśa* on the seal shows the sovereignity of Guṇaga Vijayāditya over other lords. They also contain the excellent and ornamental carvings of goddess Lakshmi and god Vināyaka in dancing poses. The legend *Śrī Tribhuvanāṁkuśa* is continued on the seals of the later Eastern Chālukyan kings till the period of Rājarāja Chōḍaganga.[27]

The Eastern Gangas had *vṛishabha lāñchchhana*. The Tekkali, Chicacole and the Siddhāntam plates had bull on them. Some of the seals of the kings of this dynasty depict the *śankha*, the bull, the lotus and the crescent. The seal of the Chiḍivalasa plates of Dēvēndravarman show a a legend *Dēvēndravarma*. It must be noted in this context that is the first Eastern Ganga seal to have a legend.[28] A characterstic feature of the seals of the later Ganga copper-plates is that they have more symbols. For example, the seal of the Narasapaṭnam plates of Vajrahasta III bears the figures of a bull, a conch, a goad, a trident, a battle axes, a eresceat, a staff and a drum.[29] A very interesting feature of the seal of the Parlakimiḍi plates of Vajrahasta III is that it contains a legend reading *Śrī Dāraparēṇḍu* in Nāgarī characters.[30] He is the *ājñapti* of this grant, who is serving the king Vajrahasta in the capacity of minister. Usually the seal contains the kings name or the title, but in this case a minister's name is found engraved. It shows that this particular plate must have been issued by this minister. The second unit of the above name *rēṇḍu* is *tadbhava* of *rāja* (rāja-rēḍu-rēṇḍu). It shows that he must be a subordinate chief of the king Vajrahasta III and also holding the office of the seals. The seal of the Andhavaram plates of the same king[31] have a seated bull, the birds carrying a stalk, a small circular disc divided into eight sectors and a *pūrṇaghaṭa*. The seal of his Ganjam plates[32] has a counchant *nandi*, a drum, a conch, the fly whisks (*chāmaras*), the darts or lances and an umbrella.

The seals of the Kākatīyas contain the figure of a boar either facing right or left. The seal of the Khaṇḍavilli plates of Pratāparudra[33] is quite interesting as it has the legend *Dāya-gaja-kēsari* apart from *vārahu*, a cow facing proper left, a sun and moon and an *ankuśa*.

The symbolie representation of a cow is very interesting which is not seen in any of the copperplate charters of the Andhra country.

The seals of the Reddy dynasty contains the figure of a bull in a kneeling posture rests on a plain pedestal. The seals of the Vijayanagara dynasty contain the *varāha* either facing right or left, with sun and moon. The seal of Śrīsailam plates Sangama Virupāksha[34] (Śaka 1388-1466 A.D.) has a seated *Nandi* with a short dagger on its proper. The seal of the Penugoṇḍa grant of Tirumala I,[35] dated 1571 A.D. is a circular one which contains a sun, a crescent with a star on it and a running boar (*varāha*) with a dagger in front of it. There is a floral device at the bottom of *varāha* in addition to the symbols mentioned above we find two clubs in the seal of Ammviḷi Mangalam plates of Śrī Raṅgarāya I,[36] dated 1577 A.D. The copper plate seals of the later Vijayanagara rulers only, contain legends. The seal of the Kuniyur plates of the time of Veṅkaṭa II[37] contains the figure of a boar facing left, a legend reads *Śrī-Venkaṭēśa* and also the moon and sun.

Some of the kings of the Andhra country used their own symbol on their seals. For example one of the early kings nemely the Rēnāṭichōlas have used both lion and tiger. Some of the feudatory chiefs enjoyed paramountcy though they accepted the supramacy of the emperors. An inscription from Mōṭupalli dated 1231 A. D., informs that Siddhayadēva mahārāja of Pallava kula had his traditional *vṛishabha lāñchchhana* and *khaṭvāngadhvaja*. Another inscription from Tripurāntakam dated 1263 A. D. states that a certains *mahā-sāmant-ādhipati* and *bāhattara-niyōg-adhipati* Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla had his own crests *viz.*, Śrīvatsa lāñchchhana and also *vṛishabha lāñchchhana*. Thus the kings of the Andhra particularly in the later period allowed their subordinates to have their *lāñchchhanas*.

The above study reveals firstly, the seals of the early kings were simple with just one or more symbols with or without legend, while the later kings have more symbols. Most of the seals represent the tittles of the issuing kings, and at certain times, the minister's names are also found. More often the chief emblem on the seal reflects the religious leanings of the issuing donor kings.

Notes :-

1 *EI.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 125ff

2 T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p 85

3 *Ēnādu* (Telugu Daily), dated 17 October, 1982

4 *IAR*, 1968-69, p. 2

5 *Ibid.*, 1976-77, p. 4; *Andhrapradesh Annual Report on Archaeology* 1976-77, p. 14

6 *EI.*, Vol. VI, pp 84 ff

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 315 ff

8 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII., pp 327 ff

9 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 103

10 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff

11 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff

12 *Ibid.*, Vol. pp. 1 ff

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 133 ff

14 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 ff

15 *Ibid.*, Vol. PXXVI, pp.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 7 ff

17 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 300 ff

18 *E. I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 317 ff

19 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 137 ff

20 *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff

21 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1 ff

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 55 ff

23 *AREP.*, 1914 No. A 12

24 *EI.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 55 ff

25 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 71 ff

26 *Bhārati.*, Vol. I, pp. 8 ff

27 *EI.*, Vol. IV, pp. 345 ff

28 *Bhārathi*, Vol. II, *EI.*, Vol. XXXII pp. 142 ff;

29 *EI.*, Vol. XI, pp. 147 ff

30 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 220 ff

31 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 202 ff

32 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 17 ff

33 *EA.*, Vol. IV

34 *EI.*, Vol. XI, pp. 8

35 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 241 ff

36 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp 340 ff

37 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp 256 ff

16 RISTHAL INSCRIPTION OF AULIKARA PRAKASADHARMMA, [VIKRAMA] YEAR 572

K. V. Ramesh and S. P. Tewari

The inscription, edited here for the first time, was discovered at Risthal, a village to the west of Sitamau, the head-quarters of Sitamau Tahsil, Mandasor District, Madhya Pradesh. The discovery was brought to the notice of the present editors by Dr. Raghubir Singh, Director, Natnagar Śōdha Saṁsthāna, Sitamau, who also kindly sent an excellent photograph of the same. The slab is now preserved in the premises of the above *Saṁsthāna*. It was copied by Dr. S. P. Tewari in the month of December 1983.

The text, in twenty-one lines, is engraved on a rectangular slab measuring about 53 cms. x 40 cms. While the writing is very well preserved, the middle portion of the top of the slab is broken away resulting in partial damage to a few letters in the first line. A small piece of the slab has been chipped off at the end of the second line and so also in a couple of places small pieces have chipped off resulting in damage to one or two letters which can, however, be easily restored.

The language of the inscription is chaste Sanskrit and the text consists of twenty nine verses in ten different metres. While the completion of each verse is indicated by a double *daṇḍa*, the completion of each half verse is in most cases indicated by a small horizontal stroke. The script employed is what is popularly known as late or Gupta Brāhmī and the characters are palaeographically assignable to the 5th–6th century A. D.

While, palaeographically, all the letters conform to the known features of Gupta Brāhmī, attention may be drawn to the fact that in two instances (*sad-udayaiḥ* in line 7 and *yēna* in line 13) a cursive type of *y* has been employed. As for the orthographical features it may be pointed out that the consonant following *r* is doubled in almost all cases while at the end of the *pādas* and verses final consonants are employed wherever warranted.

The object of the inscription is to record the excavation of a tank and the construction of a Śiva temple by the *Rājasthānīya* Bhagavaddōsha during the reign of the Aulikara king Prakāśadharmmā when five hundred and seventytwo years (of the Vikrama era) had lapsed. It is interesting to note that the vestiges of the tank referred to in this inscription are still available in Risthal.

The text commences with a verse invoking the blessings of Lord Śiva and introduces, in verse two, the reigning king Bhagavatprakāśa (i. e. Prakāśadharmmā).[1] The genealogy of his family, given in verses 3 to 13, is as follows :

In the Aulikara dynasty

Sēnāpati	Drapavarddhana,[2] his son
	Jayavarddhana, his son
	Ajitavarddhana, his son
	Vibhīshaṇavarddhana, his son
	Rājyavarddhana, his son
Adhirāja	Prakāśadharmmā (i. e. Bhagavatprakāśa)

Of these rulers the descriptions of all the predecessors of Prakāśadharmmā are merely conventional, including their victories over unnamed adversaries. Verses 14 to 15, which are in praise of Prakāśadharmmā are also merely conventional. However, verses 16 to 17, which are also in his praise, are of considerable historical significance for they refer to his victory over the famous Hūṇa usurper Tōramāṇa for whom we have so far had no firm date though his place in the history of north India is well-known. As will be shown in the sequel the present inscription bears the date Vikrama year 572=515-16 A. D. and, since the inscription refers to Prakāśadharmmā's victory over Tōramāṇa and appropriation of the latter's hegemony by the former as accomplished facts in that year, we may safely presume that Tōramāṇa's career as a successful adventurer had ended by 515–16 A. D.

The indirect contribution made by the present inscription to our knowledge of North Indian history of the post-Gupta period is indeed immeasurable. The career of Yaśōdharmmā as a great ruler is well brought home by his famous inscription[3] from Mandasor which had been composed by Vāsula the son of Kakka. In the absence of any statement to that effect in that inscription, Yaśōdharmman's antecedents were hitherto absolutely unknown to historians, though it was known that he belonged to the Aulikara family. His two Mandasor inscriptions[4] when studied in combination with the Risthal record directly give the lie to Majumdar's statement that Yaśodharmmā rose and fell like a meteor.[5]

As stated above, the inscription under study belongs to the year 515–16 A. D. One of Yaśōdharmman's Mandasor inscriptions is dated in 532 A. D. The other Mandasor inscription of this ruler, which is undated, was composed by Kakka's son Vāsula who is also the author of the Risthal *prāśasti*.

Since there is only a difference of 16 or 17 years between the Risthal *praśasti* under study and the dated inscription of Yaśōdharmmā, belonging to 532 A. D., and, in view of the fact that the present *praśasti* as well as the undated *praśasti* of Yośādharmmā were composed by the same poet Vāsula, it may be safely presumed that Yośōdharmmā was the son and successor of Prakāśadharmmā. The undated inscription of Yaśōdharmmā merely states that his feet were worshipped by the Hūṇa ruler Mihirakula without actually stating whether the latter had been personally vanquished by the former. On the other hand, the expression *ā – Tōramāṇa nṛipatēḥ* used by Vāsula in his Risthal *praśasti*, which literally means 'from Tōramāṇa onwards', seems to imply that, besides Tōramāṇa, Prakāśadharmmā himself had defeated Mihirakula also, probably in one and the same battle when Mihirakula had not yet succeeded his father on the Hūṇa throne.

One more ground for the proximity in time of the reigns of Prakāśadharmmā and Yaśōdharmmā is furnished by the reference to Bhagavaddōsha, the *Rajasthānīya* of Prakāśadharmmā, in the Risthal *Praśasti* and to Nirdōsha as the nephew of Bhagavaddōsha in the dated inscription of Yaśōdharmmā. This more than clearly implies that, just like Bhagavaddōsha and Nirdōsha, Prakāśadharmmā and Yaśōdharmmā also belonged to successive generations.

The Risthal *praśasti* and the dated Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharmmā together give a clear picture of the steady growth of this family's political stature. While the Aulikara progenitor Drapavardhana is described as a *Sēnāpati*, the reigning king is described as having risen to the royal stature of *Adhirāja* in the present inscription. And the Mandasor inscription under reference describes Yaśōdharmmā as *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* indicative of paramountcy.

Like Bhagavaddōsha, his master Prakāśadharmmā also was a great builder. He is credited with the excavation of a tank called *Vibhīshaṇa – saras*, obviously so named after Prakāśadharmmā's grandfather Vibhīshaṇavardhana for whom his grandson seems to have entertained special affection. Besides, the same king is stated to have constructed a lofty temple for the lord Śiva.

TEXT[6]

Metres : Verse 1 : *Upajāti;* Verse 2 : *Upēndravajrā;* Verse 3–4 and 13–14 : *Aupachchhandasika ;* Verses 5–6 : *Āryāgīti ;* Verses 7–8 : *Vaṁśasthavila ;* Verses 9–10 : *Drutavilambita ;* Verses 11–12 : *Gitī ;* Verses 15–21 : *Vasantatilakā* ; Verses 22–27 and 29 : *Anushṭubh ;* Verse 28 : *Mālinī.*

1 Vāmēna sandhyā – praṇipāta – kōpa – prasaṅgin – ārddhēna vighaṭṭyamānam[।*] Pinākinaś – śānt[i – vidhēy[am – arddhaṁ vām – ētaraṁ vaś] – śivam – ādadhātu ॥ [1*] Raṇēshu bhūyas = sa bhuvō mahimnē bibhartti yaḥ

2 kārmukam – ātatajyam । Jayaty – asau svasya kulasya kētur – llalāma – rājñāṁ Bhagavatprakāśaḥ ॥[2*] Bhuvana – sthiti – dhāma – dharmma – sētus – sakalasy – Aulikar – ānvayasya lakshma । Drapavarddhana ity – abhū[t–pra] –

3 bhāva – kshapit – ārāti – bal – ōnnatir – nnarēndraḥ ॥[3*] Śiras – īva Pinākinas – tushāra – sruti – śīt – āmala – dīdhitiś – śasāṅkaḥ[।*]Nija – vaṅśa[7] – lalāmni yatra Sēnāpati – śabdaḥ spṛihaṇīyatāṁ jagāma॥[4*] Anay – āvalambana –

4 dṛiḍhīkṛitayā bala – sampadā prathitayā bhujayōḥ[।*] Udapādi tēna hṛita – śattru – jayō Jayavarddhana – kshitipatis – tanayaḥ ॥ [5*]Bahalēna yasya sakalaṁ paritaḥ parivṛiṇvatā jalamuch – ēva viyat ।

5 Bala – rēṇunā karabha – kaṇṭha – ruchā sthagitā babhur – nna kiraṇās – savituḥ ॥[6*] Kirīṭa – ratna – skhalit – ārkka – dīptishu pratishṭhit – ājñaḥ pratirāja – mūrddhasu[।] Balēna tasy – ājita – paurushaḥ parair – bbabhūva

6 rāj – Ājitavarddhanas – sutaḥ ॥[7*]Makhēshu sōm – āsava – pāna – lālasē samāgatē yasya muhur – dDivaspatau । Tatāma hast – āgra – nivēśit – ānanā viyōga – chint – ākula – mānasā Śachi ॥[8*] Śruta – vivikta – manāḥ

7 sthitimān – balī sphuṭa – yaśaḥ kusum – ōdgama – pādapaḥ[।] Jagati tasya sutaḥ prathitō guṇaiḥ kula – lalāma – Vibhīshaṇavarddhanaḥ ॥[9*] Sad – udayaiḥ pravikāsibhir – uj[j*]valair – avihata – prasaraiḥ

8 śubharōhibhiḥ । Sucharitaiḥ kiraṇair - iva bhānumān - kshata tamāṅsi[8] jaganti chakāra yaḥ॥[10*] Bhuvana - sthiti - gōptṛibhir - nnṛipair - dhuram - ādyair - vvidhṛitāṁ babhāra yaḥ । Sva - kulōchita rājya - varddhanas - tanayas - tasya

9 sa Rājyavarddhanaḥ ॥[11*] Vilalāpa mumōha vivyathē viniśaśvāsa visaṁjñatāṁ yayau । Upataptamanā bal - ōshmaṇā dvishatām yasya vilāsinījanaḥ ॥[12*] Kshitipati tilakasya tasya bāhu - draviṇa -

10 nipīta - samagra - śatru - dīptiḥ[।] Sucharita - ghaṭita - prakāśa - dharmmā nṛipati - lalāma - sutaḥ Prakāśadharmmā ॥[13*] Amalina - yaśasāṁ prabhāva dhāmnāṁ sakala - jagan - mahanīya - paurushāṇām[।] Avitatha - janat - ānurāga -

11 bhājāṁ sthiti - padavīm - anuyāti yō gurūṇām॥[14*] Yaḥ sv - ānvaya - krama - paramparay - ōpayātām - ārōpitāṁ guṇa - rasām - ahṛitēna pitrā[।*] Lōk - ōpakāra - vidhayē na sukh - ōdayāya rāja - śriyaṁ

12 śubha - phal - ōdayinīm vibhartti ॥[15*] Ā - Tōramāṇa - nṛipatēr - nṛipa - mauli - ratna - jyōtsnā - pratāna - śabalīkṛita - pāda - pīṭhām । Hūṇ - ādhipasya bhuvi yēna gataḥ pratishṭhām nītō yudhā = vitathatām - Adhirāja - śabdaḥ ॥[16*]

13 Saṁgrāma - mūrddhani vipāṭha - nipātitānāṁ tasy - aiva yēna mada - vārimuchāṁ gajānām । Āyāmi - danta - ghaṭitāni tapōnidhibhyō bhadr - āsanāni ruchimanti nivēditāni ॥[17*] Tasy - aiva ch = āhava - mukhē tarasā

14 jitasya yēn - āvarōdhana - vara - pramadāḥ pramathya । Lōka - prakāśa - bhuja - vikrama - chihna - hētōr - vviśrāṇitā bhagavatē Vṛishabhadhvajāya ॥[18*] Rājñē pitāmaha - Vibhīshaṇavarddhanāya ślāghy - ānubhāva - guru -

15 puṇya - phalaṁ nivēdya[।] Vistāri Bindu - sarasaḥ pratibimba - bhūtam - ētad - Vibhīshaṇa - saras - samakhāni tēna ।[19*] Ētach - cha nṛitta - rabhasa - skhalit - ēndu - lēkhā - vānt - āṅśu[9] - vichchhurita - mēchaka - kaṇṭha - bhāsaḥ[।]

16 Sthāṇōs - samagra - bhuvana - ttraya - sṛishṭi - hētōḥ prālēya - śaila - taṭa - kalpam - akāri sadma ॥[20*] Sa - dvy - abda - saptati - samā - samudāyavatsu pūrṇṇēshu pañchasu śatēshu vivatsarāṇām ।

17 Grīshmē = rkka - tāpa - mṛidita - pramadā - sanātha - dhārā - gṛih - ōdara - vijṛimbhita - Pushpakētau ॥[21*] Lakshma Bhāratavarshasya nidēśāt - tasya bhūkshitaḥ । Akārayad - Daśapurē Prakāśēśvara - sadma yaḥ ॥[22*]

18 Tasya - aiva cha purasy - āntar - Brahmaṇaś - chāru mandiram । Unmāpayad - iva vyōma śikharair - gghanarōdhibhiḥ ॥[23*] Āśrayāya yatīnāñ = cha sāṅkhya - yōg - ābhiyōginām । Vyadhatta Kṛishṇ - āvasathaṁ Bujjuk - āvasathañ = cha yaḥ ॥[24*]

19 Sabhā - kūpa - maṭh - ārāmān = sadmāni cha divaukasām । Yō = nyāṁś = ch - ānyāya - vimukhō dēya - dharmmān - achīkarat ॥[25*] Tēn - aiva nṛipatēs - tasya pūrvvaj - āmātya - sūnunā । Rājasthānīya - Bhagavaddōshēṇ - ādōsha - saṅginā ॥[26*]

20 Ētaj - jalanidhi - hrēpi viśālaṁ khānitaṁ saraḥ । Idañ = cha jalad - ōllēkhi Śūlinas - sadma kāritam ॥[27*] Kisalaya - parivarttī-vīrudhāṁ vāti yāvat - surabhi - kusuma - gandh - āmōdavāhī nabhasvān ।

21 Sara i[da]m - abhirāmaṁ sadma Śambhōś = cha tāvad = vihita - durita - mārggē kīrtti - vistāriṇis - tām ॥[28*] Iti tushṭūshayā tasya nṛipatēḥ puṇya - karmmaṇaḥ [।*] Vāsulēn - ōparachitā pūrvvē = yaṁ Kakka - sūnunā ॥[29*]

TRANSLATION

(V. 1) May the right half of the face of Pinākin (Śiva), which exhudes peace and which is conjoined with the left half of his face (i. e. Pārvatī's face) which displays anger because of Śiva's submission to Sandhyā (here personified as a female-rival), bring you auspiciousness.

(V. 2) Victorious is Bhagavatprakāśa who was the very banner of his family and was the leader of the kings and who constantly keeps the string of his bow taut in battles for the glory of the earth.

(V. 3) There was the very banner of all the Aulikara families, the king Drapavarddhana who was like a bridge between the established precepts of mankind and their righteous practice; who had attained eminence by destroying the strength of his enemies through his greatness.

(V. 4) Just as the crescent moon on the head of Pinākin (Śiva), with its cool and pure rays like the sprinkling of thin shower, is covetable, so also, in the case of this (king), who was the banner of his family, the designation *Sēnāpati* had become covetable.

(V. 5) Having thus, through this, confirmed his strength and wealth by his arms, he sired a son, the king Jayavarddhana, who had appropriated victories from his enemies.

(V. 6) Even as the dark clouds stopped the rays of the sun (from brightening the earth), so did the dust raised by his army and its elephant corps, spreading and covering all the atmosphere, indeed stop the rays of the Sun.

(V. 7) His son was the king Ajitavarddhana who had earned his manliness from his enemies through his strength and who had established his hegemony over the heads of the enemy kings which were shining with the rays emerging out of the gems of their crowns.

(V. 8) The lord of the gods (Indra) having gone to the earth repeatedly because of his ardent desire for imbibing the *sōma* drink at the sacrifices (performed by the king Ajitavarddhana), *Śachī* (*Indrāṇi*) became worried about separation from her husband, with her chin resting on her fore-arm.

(V 9.) His son who was famed in the world for his good qualities and who was like the banner of his family was Vibhishaṇavarddhana whose thoughts were profound

because of learning; he was possessed of firmness, and was powerful and his fame was full-blown like a newly flowered tree.

(V. 10) He rendered the worlds devoid of darkness by his good qualities which were ever on the increase, resplendent, brilliant, all pervading and increasingly auspicious even as the sun brightens the worlds with his rays which are well-risen, resplendent, brilliant, all pervading and increasingly bright.

(V. 11) His son was Rājyavarddhana who expanded his kingdom in keeping with his family's practice and who shouldered the burden (of the kingdom) which had been borne by the earlier kings who were protectors of worldly stability.

(V. 12) The members of the harem of his enemy kings lamented, got bewildered, suffered, sighed and fainted, their minds being tortured by the heat of his valour.

(V. 13) Of that leader of kings the son was Prakāśadharmmā, the great king who had imbibed all the lustre of his adversaries by the strength of his arms, whose lustrous merit was built of good characters.

(V. 14) Who had come by the royal status of his elders who were of unstained fame, worthy abodes of greatness, were possessed of valour which was considered great by the entire world and enjoyed the unbroken love of their subjects.

(V. 15) Who bore the noble royal grandeur, which was the source of auspicious results, for the sake of helping his subjects and not for the mere creation of pleasure, that royal grandeur which had come down through proper successions in his own family and which had been thrust upon him and not appropriated by him from his father.

(V. 16) By him, who had established himself in the kingdom of the Hūṇa ruler through his foot-stool being flooded with the brightness of the gems of the kingly crown of the king Tōramāṇa, the word *adhiraja* was rendered factual in the battle.

(V. 17) He (i. e. Prakāśadharmmā) presented to the asectics shining *Bhadrāsanas* made of the long-ivory tusks of the rutting elephants of the vanqnished king which had been felled with large arrows on the battle-field.

(V. 18) From the same king who had been quickly beaten in the battle field, by him (i. e. by Prakāśadharmmā) were taken the choicest ladies of the harem and they were presented to the god Vṛishabhadhvaja (Śiva) as a symbol of the world-illuminating valour of his arms.

(V. 19) By him was excavated this tank called *Vibhīshaṇa-saras*, which looked like the replica of the extensive *Bindusaras*, after having apportioned in a praiseworthy gesture the meritorious fruits thereof to his grandfather, the king Vibhīshaṇavarddhana.

(V. 20) Besides, he got constructed a temple almost equal to that of the foot of the Himalayan mountain for the god Sthāṇu (Śiva) who is the cause of the creation of the three worlds and whose dark-blue neck was shining because of being covered by the rays emitted by the crescent moon which had slipped during his forceful dancing.

(V. 21) When a total of five hundred and seventy and two [Vikrama] years had been completed, when the god of Love was manifested in the interiors of the fountain-houses where were seen, along with their beloveds, damsels emaciated by the heat of the summer Sun

(V. 22-23) By the directions of that king who was like the very symbol of Bhāratavarsha, he (i. e. Bhagavaddōsha whose name occurs in verse 26 below) got constructed, in Daśapura, the temple of *Prakāśēśvara*. And, inside the same township (he got constructed) the beautiful temple of Brahman, which, with its cloud-barring pinnacles, was, as if, measuring the very skies.

(V. 24) Who, for the refuge of ascetics and for those who were intent upon practising *sāṅkhyayōga*, established habitations named after Kṛishṇa and Bujjuka.

(V. 25) Who, averse as he was to injustice, got implemented many acts of philanthropy and piety such as (the construction of) halls, wells, monasteries (*maṭha*), pleasure gardens, and temples of the gods.

(V. 26-27) By him, Bhagavaddōsha, the *Rājasthānīya*, who shunned demerits and who was the son of the minister of the predecessor of this king, this extensive tank, which puts to shame the sea itself, and this temple of Śūlin (Śiva), which pierces through the clouds, were respectively excavated and got constructed.

(V. 28) For as along as the wind, which carries the pleasant fragrance of sweet smelling flowers turning the tender sprouts of the creepers, blows, this lovely tank and the temple of Śambhu may till then spread their fame devoid of all evil.

(V. 29) The euology of this king, who was a person of meritorious deeds, was composed by Vāsula, the son of Kakka in the above words of praise.

Notes :-

1 As in the well-known Aihoḷe *praśasti* of Polekēśi II (EI VI p. 4.) wherein, after the invocatory verse and before the commencement of the dynastic genealogy, this famous Chalukya emperor is introduced as Satyāśraya the reigning king, so also in the Risthal inscription, after the invocatory verse and before the commencement of the family genealogy, the reigning king Prakāśadharmmā is introduced in verse two as Bhagavatprakāśa.

2 The reading of the name Drapavarddhana on the stone as well as in the estampages is very clear though the name itself is an extremely unusual one. The word *drapa* is not included in Sanskrit lexicons though *drāpa* occurs in such varied meanings as mud, mire, heaven, sky,

a fool, block head, an idiot and also as a name of Sīva. (Monier Williams: *Skt. Eng. Dictionary*, p. 440, s. v.). However, the king's name does not appear to be connected with *drāpa*. On the other hand, in the light of the known historical circumstances of the period in question, it may be suggested that the progenitor of the Aulıkara families was either of foreign extraction or a tribal chieftain raised to the level of a ruling king. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the well-known astronomer Varāhamihira states (*Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, ch. 86, verse 2) that he consulted the views, among others, of *Mahar̄ajādhirāja* Dravyavarddhana, the ruler of Avanti, while writing his chapter on *śakunas*. Mirashi has rightly suggested that this Dravyavarddhana belonged to the *Aulikara* family, though he wrongly makes him the father of Yaśōdharmmā (*vide*, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 207-209). It is very likely that Dravyavarddhana, mentioned by Varāhamihira, is the same as Drapavarddhana of the Risthal inscription. As for the subsequent change of *drapa* into *dravya*, it may be safely presumed that, in the course of successively recopying the manuscript of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, one copyist or the other must have effected the change either because the earlier manuscript-copy utilized by him as the original may have suffered damage or merely because he wanted a meaningful name.

3 Fleet: *CII*, III, pp. 142-48 and plate.

4 *Ibid.*, and pp. 150-58 and plate.

5 *The Classical Age*, p. 40.

6 From inked estampages.

7 Read *Vaṁśa*.

8 Read *tamāṁsi*,

9 Read *vānt-āṁśu*.

17 SRESTHIN IN EPIGRAPHS

Sheo Bahadur Singh

Ancient Indian epigraphs contain many titles and designations which are also, sometimes, found in the literature. The study of these may throw valuable light on the socio-cultural life of the contemporary society. In this connection the title *Śrēshṭhin*, which occurs in some Gupta and subsequent epigraphs, need to be investigated. Interestingly enough, this also finds mention even in the early literature. The term *Śrēshṭhin* (Pāli-*Seṭṭhi*) etymologically stands for best or chief, which also means 'having the best, a distinguished man, a person of rank or authority, a warrior of high rank, an eminent artisan, the head or chief of an association following the same trade or industry or the President of a guild.[1] The word first occurs in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*[2] and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*.[3]

The inscriptions of the Gupta period refer to the *Śrēshṭhin* as assisting in the local administration. The Dāmōdarpur Copper Plate inscriptions,[4] discovered in the north Bengal, covering ninety years (A.D. 443 534) of the Gupta rule, recording a peculiar kind of land transaction in which a person pays some money in lieu of the price of the land to be donated for pious religious purposes, as a perpetual grant, are important from this point of view. The two Dāmōdarpur Copper plate inscriptions[5] at the time of Kumāragupta I (124 G.E =443-44 A. D. and 129 G.E.= 448–49 A.D.) record the grant of the land to a certain brahmin for performing religious rites by the local government of Kōṭivarsha Vishaya which constituted a corporate body of *Kumārāmātya*, *Nagara Śrēshṭhin*, *Sārthavāha*, *Prathama Kāyastha and Prathama Kulika*. The Dāmōdarpur Copper Plate inscription at the time of Budhagupta[6] (c. 476-95 A. D.) is interesting as far as it records a grant of the land to *Nagara Śrēshṭhin* Ribhupāla for erecting temples after paying the equal price of the land as commoners paid. It follows, thus, that the District Officer was associated with the *Nagara Śrēshṭhin*, the *Sārthavāha*, the *Prathama Kulika* and the Prathama Kāyastha in some sort of land transactions. These persons are occasionally referred to as a Board of Advisors or Municipal Board. Moreover, it is not possible to determine whether these four persons were associated with the District Officer in other affairs of government or regularizing this particular type of transactions. In the city, there might have been many *Śrēshṭhins* but how the *Nagara Śrēshṭhin* was chosen, we do not know. However, it can be deduced that the state recognised one *Nagara Śrēshṭhin* for each town who played an important role in the administration of the district. But in the villages the grant of land was transacted by other officials, such as *Mahattara*, *Ashṭakulādhikaraṇa*, *Grāmika* and *Kuṭumbin* as is evident from another Dāmōdarpur Copper plate inscription[7] at the time of Budhagupta (G. E. 163=483 A. D.)

We have evidence about individual *Śrēshṭhin* having seals. An Ahichchhatra bone seal has a legend in two lines - '*Sodikaye, Sēṭhīputasa*' (son of a Śrēshṭhi). A *Śrēshṭhi* from Bhita has seal with legend '*Jayavasudaḥ*'. A Kausambi copper seal has a legend '*Śrēshṭhīputra – Gō – pa*'. Some clay seals from Basarh[8] are noteworthy for the legends '*Śrēshṭhikulika-nigama*' (corporation or chamber of bankers and traders) and '*Srēshṭhisārthavāha Kulikanigama*' (corporation or chamber of bankers, traders and industrialists). The names of two *Śrēshṭhins* Shashṭhidatta and Srīdāsa are stamped on a seal of '*Śrēshṭhi Sārthavāha kulikanigama*'. Evidently these corporate bodies were related with the local government in some manner so far as a certain type land transaction was concerned. Whether, they were included in the Advisory Board due to their importance as representative of the guilds or otherwise, is not correctly known.

The *Mṛichchhakaṭika*[9] drama interestingly records that the *Adhikaraṇika* (Judge) is to take the help of two *Sabhyas* – one *Śrēshṭhin* and one *Kāyastha* in the matters of legal judgement. This shows how *Śrēshṭhin* was also sometimes holding an important position in the judiciary. Possibly he was appointed by the king and authorised to pronounce judgement but the king had the last word about the exact punishment. This practice continues even in the medieval period as is evident from the Dhureti Copper Plate inscription at the time of Chandellas[10]. It records that a village had been mortgaged by a 'Śaivite religious institution, which transferred to the mortgagee the right of collecting taxes, presumably till the dues were cleared. The deed of mortgagee was registered with the *pañchakula* consisting of *Sāndhivigrahika*, *Koṭṭapāla* and a *Śrēshṭhin* who was also the writer of deeds, these three constituting a body of *dharmādhikaraṇa* for the judgement of the disputes of merchants. It is a well known fact that the *dharmādhikaraṇa* was a court of justice.

The Gwalior inscription[11] during the reign of Bhōja (A. D. 876) records that the administration of the city of Gwalior was conducted by a board (*vara*) consisting of the *Koṭṭapāla* Alla, *Balādhikṛita* Tattaka *Sthānādhikṛita Śrēshṭhi* Vavviyaka and *Sārthavāhapramukha Ichchhuvāka*. Apparently, *Sthānādhikṛita* means the commander of a police or military outpost and it seems that Vavviyaka, though a *Śrēshṭhi* was probably the chief of the police outpost. The Anavada inscription during the time of Sārangadēva records that the *pañchamukha nagara* of Palhanpur met together and imposed certain taxes. It is known from the epigraph that the *pañchamukha nagara* institution included the *pañchakula*, the *purōhitas*, the *mahājanas* (i.e., merchant including from all sections of the society, such as *Sādhu - Sāhūkār*, *Śrēshṭhi*, *Ṭhākura*, *Sōnī* (goldsmith) *Kaṁsāra* (brazier), the *Vanijyārakās* (Vanjars) and *Nau – Vittakas* (ship owners). The inclusion of the persons belonging to the lower castes and occupations in the city administration is evident here. This corporate body was looking after the city administration, raising funds, administering oath and was informed of sale deeds of houses and female slaves. Another inscription[12] (1247 A. D.) is rather noteworthy as it records that Malliśrēshṭhin has obtained the *ādhipatya* (governorship) of Beluvala

Rājya from his father-in-law Bīchi Śrēshṭhin, while in a second inscription[13], issued a year later, Malliśrēshṭhin is represented as making a grant at the instance of his father-in-law Bīchan (Bīchi-Seṭṭhi), the *sarvādhikārin*. It, thus, appears that the *sarvādhikārin* was very much powerful and, probably, was a Chief Minister in the state.

The reference of *Ś ēshṭhin* in the ancient literature is not wanting. It occurs for the first time in the Vedic literature[14]. In the *Jātakas*, this was a reputed class holding high rank in the king's court and outside[15]. The *Seṭṭhi* term probably implied the headship or a representative over some sort of industry or trading[16], or an office (*thāna*) held during the life time which was probably hereditary[17]. It seems that he had to play a double role-that of an official as well as of a rich trader. In his official capacity, he attends to the king daily[18]. He has to take formal permission of the king if he wants to renounce the world[19] or desires to give his wealth in charity[20].

In the *Jātakas* his role as a wealthy and influential merchant is much more defined than his part as an official. A *Seṭṭhi* residing in Vārāṇasī, engages in trade and leads a caravan of five hundred waggons[21]. Even in the villages and towns they possessed a lot of wealth and influence[22]. If we leave aside the conventional statement of their wealth amounting to eight hundred millions (aśītikōṭivibhavō)[23], we find that the *Seṭṭhi* had in their possession magnificent palaces with fine coaches, servants and herdsmen[24]. Occasionally they also possessed rice fields[25]. Thus, they were not only tradesmen, but also cattle rearing and land cultivating owners of the soil[26]. There were also *mahā Seṭṭhi* (chief official) and *anu Seṭṭhi* (subordinate officer) denoting different categories among themselves[27]. Thus, the general inference can be deduced from the literature that *Śrēshṭhin* were tradesmen, big land holders as well as officials of the king.

In ancient India *Śrēshṭhin* seems to have been influential persons due to their financial stability. Their financial position helped them in the administrative field also. They held high positions of *Nagara Śrēshṭhin*, *Sthānādhikṛita*, *Sabhya*, *Pañchamukhanagara*, *Ādhipatya* and *Sarvādhikārin*, thus variously helping the administration of the government at different levels, such as local administration, Police, judiciary and high executive power in the ancient India. It shows their significance in the society; even the administration has had to take note of their prominence. The term *Seṭṭhi* or *Seṭha* is a corrupt form of the *Śrēshṭhin* which is still vogue in modern times. *Sethi* is a *gotra* used by some Panjabis in Panjab and Haryana. Besides this anybody and everybody who resorts to business profession, without concerning his caste and creed is known as a *Seṭha* even at present.

Notes :-

1 Monier Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 1102.

2 *III*, 30, 3.

3 *III*, 1, 4, 10.

4 *EI.*, Vol. XV, pp. 113-45.

5 *Ibid*, pp. 130 ff '*Nagarasrēshṭhi-Dhṛitipāla Sārthavāha Bandhumitra Prathama Kulika Dhṛitimitra prathama Kā(ya)stha Śāmbapāla.*

6 *EI.*, Vol. XV, p. 138 ff.

7 *EI*, XV, p. 135 ff. *Mahattar-ādyashṭakulādhi(ka)(Ra)ṇa Grāmika Kuṭumbinaś-cha.*

8 *ASIAR*, pp. 144 – 16. cf. K. K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, pp. 229-30.

9 *Chap.* IX.

10 *EI.*, Vol. *XXV*, p. 1.

11 *EI.*, Vol. I, p. 159.

12 *EI.*, Vol. *XXXIV*, p. 34.

13 *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, 1926, No. 426.

14 *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 30, 3 ; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa III*, 1, 4, 10.

15 *J.* V, p. 382 *(Rājā, pūjitō nagarā janapūjitō).*

16 The famous *Seṭṭhi* of Rājagaha Anathapiṇḍika, the millionaire, lay supporter of the Buddha, had evidently some authority over his fellow traders *Mahāvagga, VIII*, 1, 16 ff.) ; Richard Fick thinks that *Śrēshṭhin* was a representative of the commercial community. *The Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's time*, pp. 259 ff.

17 *J.*, *I*, pp. 122, 231, 248, 348.

18 *J. I.*, pp. 120, 269, 349.

19 *J.*, *II*, p. 64.

20 *J. V*, p. 383.

21 *J.*, *I*, p. 270.

22 *J.*, *I*, p. 451 ; *IV*, pp. 37, 169.

23 *J*, *I*, pp. 349, 466 ; *III*, pp. 128, 300, 444.

24 *J.*, *I*, p. 351.

25 *J.*, *II*, p. 378.

26 Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

27 J., V, p. 384 ; cf. *Mahāvagga*, 1.9.

18 MASODA COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF PRAVARASENA II, YEAR 29

Ajay Mitra Shastri and Chandrashekar Gupta

The plates under publication were found some forty years earlier in the field belonging to Shri Mohanlal Motilal Laddada (now sold to Shri Ramachandra Kashiram Kinekar), a resident of Koṇḍhāḷī, at Masoda, a small village under *Mauja* Rāmaṭhī and Koṇḍhāḷī Police Station in the Katol Taluka of the Nagpur District, Maharashtra State, by one Shri Sitaram Paranaji Ladke. One of us (Dr. Chandrashekhar Gupta), when Registering Officer (Antiquities) of the Nagpur Zone in 1976, had these plates acquired through the good offices of the district and local authorities and deposited in the Central Museum where they are now preserved. The Curator of the Museum placed these plates at his disposal for cleaning and study. They were then cleaned and their estampages were prepared through the good offices of the Manager, Government Printing Press, Nagpur. And it is from these impressions as will as the original plates that the charter is being edited in these pages.

The inscription is incised on a set of five *plates* of copper. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner (or second) side, while the rest of the plates bear writing on both sides. The plates measure 17.2 cms. in length and 8. 5 cms. in breadth (or height). Some of the plates are slightly larger in the middle than at the corners. The edges of the plates are neither raised into rims nor made thicker for the protection of writing ; but the writing is in a fair state of preservation. The plates are 3 mm thick, and their total weight is 1.5 kgm. A circular hole, 1.2 cms. in diameter, is bored about the middle of the margin of the left, at a distance of about 4 cms. from the left, for the passage of the circular copper ring on which these plates were strung together. The seal was missing when the plates were discovered.

The epigraph contains in all forty-nine lines of writing. Of these the inner side of the first plate, both sides of the second and third plates and the second side of the fourth plate bear five lines each, whereas seven lines are engraved on the first side of the fourth plate and six on both sides of the fifth plate.

The *characters*, like those of practically all the Vākāṭaka records,[1] belong to the box-headed variety of the Central India alphabets with southern peculiarities and share the general character of those employed for the other records of the time of Pravarasēna II. We may, however, note that the final consonant is similar to the ordinary letter but smaller in size and without a box on top, as *m* in the opening word *siddham* in line 1. The letter *j* is written both with (*e.g* , °*yāji*°, 1. 2 ; *vijayi*°, 1. 11 ; °*rāja*°, 11. 16 and 18) and without the top-box (*e.g.*, °*rāja*°, 11. 6, 8 and 9 ; *jala*, 1. 7 ; *satyārjja*°, 1. 10). The subscript *y* and *v* are written in a highly cursive fashion and are so similar in appearance as to be distinguishable only by the contextual considerations. The *visarga* is written in a

variety of ways : two horizontal strokes placed one above the other, as in ll. 3, 28 and 39 ; two vertical strokes one below the other, as in ll. 4 and 20 ; a dot above a horizontal line, as in l. 14 ; a somewhat curved stroke above a horizontal line, as in l. 2, and *vice versa* (l. 41) ; a semicircle open in the lower part above a semi-circle open on right, as in line 19 ; a couple of vertically placed curved strokes one above the other, as in l. 29 ; two semi-circular strokes open to right one below the other (l. 42), etc. The sign for *jhvā-mūlīya* is met with in lines 2 and 38 and that for *upadhmānīya* in lines 14 and 17. We find a punctuation mark looking like *visarga* in lined 41 and 43.

The *language* is Sanskrit, and the record is composed throughout in prose but for a couple of imprecatory stanzas in lines 46-48. Like other Vākāṭaka copper-plate charters, it is replete with orthographical errors which are too numerous to be enumerated. A few points may, however, be noted. Final letters and *anusvāra* are too often left out to need enumeration. The consonants following *rēpha* are often reduplicated, as in *saty-ārjjava*, l. 10 ; °*bhivarddha*°, l. 12 ; °*rvvā-kāṭakānā*°, l. 13 ; *guṇ-ārppaṇa*, l. 15, etc. There are also instances of the reduplication of the consonants preceding *r*, as in *parākkramā*°, l. 6; *vikkrama*, l. 10; °*ś=chakkra*°, l. 13, etc. Sometimes the letter preceding *y* is also found reduplicated, *e.g.*, *Bhāgiratty=āmala*, l. 6. *N* is employed in place of *ṇ* in *kārunya*, l. 10, while the examples of the replacement of the former by the latter are fairly numerous as will be obvious from a perusal of the text. *Ri* is used instead of *ṛi* in *drishṭi* at the beginning of the record, while in *sambrājaḥ* in l. 3 *mra* is transformed into *mbra*. Some of these features apparently have their origin in faulty pronunciation obtaining during the period in question.

We get some idea of the way in which *omissions* were supplied and *corrections* made. In the expression *daś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛitha* in line 7 the *akshara bhṛi* was originally left out by oversight but later added below the line in question exactly between *va* and *tha*, which is its proper place, without any mark (*kākapāda*, etc.) indicating where it was meant to be inserted. In line 20, the word *traya* is formed by correction. Originally *nashya* was incised and then, after the mistake was realised, the letter *na* was corrected to *tra* by adding a small stroke to its left limb and a curve open to left at the bottom of the vertical line ; similary *shya* was altered into *ya*, and in this process the subscribed *ya* was rubbed off only partially, its traces being still visible.

The charter refers itself to the reign of king *Pravarasena II* of the Nandivardhana branch of the Vākāṭakas, and its *object* is to register the grant of land in favour of a large number of Brāhmaṇa donees.

Like most other completed copper-plate charters of the dynasty, the inscription commences with the word *dṛishṭam*, incised in the margin, which serves as an authentication mark, and the auspicious formula *siddham svasti*. These are followed by the mention of the place of issue, Pravarapura, from which several grants of the later years (beginning with the fifteenth

regnal year) of Pravarasēna II are known to have been issued. Next follows the genealogical account of the family, or rather that branch of the family to which Pravarasēna belonged, from the beginning to the time of the issuing chief himself. This account is of a conventional character common to other records of his time with only a couple of differences. In connection with the description of Rudrasēna II, the father of the issuing chief, we find a passage saying that he had obtained victories in many battles (*anēka-sangrāma-vijayinaḥ*) and that he was an adornment of the Vākāṭaka lineage which had been rendered excellent by the proper application of the six measures of policy[2] (*shaḍ=guṇ–ārppaṇa–praśasta–Vākāṭaka–vaṅ (ṁ)ś–alaṅkāra–bhūtasya*) which is not met with in any other record. We next come to the grant portion which records the gift of some land, by Pravarasēna II, to the north-west of the village[3] Matsakadraha in the low-lying area (*gartta-sabhā*) of the river Rājatintiṇika situated in the *apara-mārga* of Padmapura in favour of a number of brāhmaṇas specified with their respective *gōtras*. Three hundred 'lands' (*bhūmi-śata-traya*) measured by the royal measurement (*rāja-mānika-mānēna*)[4] are said to have been granted, though the exact measurement is left unspecified. We can justifiably assume, however, that the intended measurement was *nivartana* which is known to have been mentioned in a number of Vākāṭaka records. Thus, in all land measuring three hundred *nivartanas* was given away. It is said to have been given at the request of the chief queen (*bhāryā-mahādēvī*) whose name is, however, left unspecified. The land was divided in all into twenty-five house-sites (*vāṭaka*) of which two shares were given to one Mahāpurusha who is described as the non-acceptor of donations (*apratigrāhin*). The details of the remaining donees brāhmaṇas are given below :-

Name	*Gōtra and other details*
Boppāryya	Kauṇḍinya ; learned in the four Vēdas
Vishṇuvārya (Vishṇvārya)	Bhāradvāja
Aratyāryya	Bhāradvāja
Bhavāryya	Parāśara
Bhavaputrāryya	Parāśara
Gōlāryya	Bhāradvāja
Śrīyāryya (Śryāryya)	Bhāradvāja
Boppāryya	Kāśyapa
Nārāyaṇāryya	Kauśika
Achalāryya	Kauśika
Dēvāryya	Kauṇḍinya
Dāmāryya	Kauṇḍinya
Kēśavāryya	Kauśika
Kumārāryya	Vatsa
Dāmāryya	Kāśyapa
Gōlāryya	Kauṇḍinya
Gōlāryya	Kāśyapa
Kōṭṭāryya	Gautama
Rudrāryya	Gautama[5]

It will be noticed that while the donated land was divided into twenty-five house-sites, the details given above account only for twenty-one plots, *viz.*, two for Mahāpurusha and one each for the remaining nineteen brāhmaṇas named above. It seems that either the names of some of the donees have been left out or the number of shares in case of the recipients

to more than one plots have been dropped by oversight. It will follow from the details that each plot consisted only of twelve *nivartanas* and was thus of a very small size. The grant, which was accompanied by the usual exemptions and privileges commonly enumerated in Vākāṭaka grants, was made by the king by his own order (*sva-mukh-ājña*) and conveyed to government officials headed by *Sēnāpati* Kātyāyana. The charter concludes with a couple of imprecatory stanzas cited in the name of Vyāsa and the specification of the date.

Unfortunately three letters of the portion of the text specifying the year have become too faint to be deciphered ; but keeping in view the known regnal years of Pravarasēna II, the first two letters (*ēku*= *ekō*) and the concluding letter (*d*) and the number of missing letters traces of which are clearly discernible. it can be restored as *ēkōṇaviṁśad* or *ēōknatriṁśad* and the regnal year specified in our record would accordingly be nineteenth or twenty-ninth. And no incongruity will be involved in this reconstruction as both these years are already known from other records.[6] However, if the name of the *Sēnāpati* may be taken as an indication,[7] twenty-ninth would appear to be the more likely year ; for, Kātyāyana is referred to as *Sēnāpati* in the Pattan plates of Pravarasēna II's twenty-seventh year[8] which is only a couple of years earlier than the proposed date of the present record. If this suggestion is found acceptable, it would follow that Kātyāyana continued to hold the office of *Sēnāpati* till at least the twenty-ninth year of Pravarasēna II's reign. Further, this would then prove to be the latest known record of the king ; for, the Pandhurna plates of the same year were issued about a couple months earlier.[9] The date is specified in season, *viz.*, fifth day of the second fortnight of the rainy season. This would, thus, be one of the few season dates of Pravarasēna II's reign.[10]

Last as regards the localities mentioned in this charter, Matsakadraha, the village beside which the donated land was situated is undoubtedly identical with the modern village of Masod, the provenance of the plates, in the Katol Tahsil of the Nagpur District. The village is stated to have been situated in the *apara-mārga* of Padmapura. There has been some uncertainty regarding the connotation of the word *mārga* some taking it in the common sense of 'road' and others holding it to refer to an administrative division. But the referecce to the donation of the village of Jamalakheṭaka situated in the Jamalakhetaka-*mārga* in the Mahurjhari grant of Pṛithivīsheṇa II[11] clinches the issue by showing taat the word *mārga* in the Vākāṭaka records has to be taken in the sense of an administrative unit.[12] The mention of the *pūrva-mārga* of Padmapura in the unpublished Mandhal plates of Rudrasēna II indicates that the district was divided into at least two parts, *viz.*, western and eastern. The western division obviously comprised the area round Matsakādraha or Masod, while the *purva-mārga* was situated to its east. Unfortunately, Padmapura, the chief town of the district, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The same is true about the river Rājatintiṇika, which may now be represented by one of the small streams in the vicinity of Masod.

FIRST PLATE

1 Dri(dṛi)shṭi(shṭaṁ)[14] [।*] Siddhaṁ svasti[।*] Pravarapurād – agnishṭōm – āptōyyā-(ryyā)m – ōkthya – shōḍaśy – atirātraḥ(tra) –

2 vājapēya – bṛihaspi(spa)tisava saādyakra(skra)tu[15] – chatur – aśva – ma(mē)dha – yājinaḥ[16]

3 Vishṇuvṛiddha – sagōtrasya sambrā(mrā)jaḥ[17] Vāka(kā)ṭakānām = mahā

4 rāja – śri(śrī) – Pravarasēnasya sūnō[ḥ*] sūnōḥ[18] atyanta – svāmi mahābhai –

5 rava – bhaktasya a(aṁ)sa – mbhā(bhā)ra – sannivēśita – śiva – liṅg – ōdvahana – śiva –

SECOND PLATE ; FIRST SIDE

6 sū(su)paritushṭa – samutpādita – rāja – vaṁśānā(nāṁ) parākkram – ādhigi(ga)ta bhāgiratthy –

7 amala – jala – mūrddhnā(mūrddh–ā)bhishiktānā(nāṁ) daś – āśva – mēdh – āvabhṛitha[19] – snāta(tā)nā(nāṁ) Bhāraśivānā(nāṁ)

8 mahārāja – śri(śrī) – Bhavanāga – dauhitrasya Gautamipu[tra*]sya putrasya

9 Vāka(kā)ṭaknārma(nām=mahārāja–śrī–Rudrasēnasyā sūnōr=atyatta(nta)-māhēśvarasya

10 saty – ārjjava – kārunya(ṇya) – śauryya – vikkrama–naya – vinaya – ma(mā)hātmya – dhīmatva(ttva) – pātragata –

SECOND PLATE ; SECOND SIDE

11 bhaktitva – dharmma – vijayitva – manō – nnai(nai)rmmaly – ādi – guṇais=samupētasya varsha – śata

12 m – abhivarddhamāna – kōśa – daṇḍa – sādhana – sattā(ntā)na – putra – pautra[20] – Yudhishṭhira – vṛittē

13 r=vVākāṭakānāmmma(m=m)ahārāja – śrī – Pṛithivīshēṇasya sūnōbha(sūnōr = bha)-gavatas=Chakkra –

14 pāṇēḥ=prasād – ōpārjjita – śrī – samudayasy – āna(nē)ka – saṅgrāma – vijayinaḥ

15 shaḍ – guṇ – ārppaṇa – praśasta – Vākāṭaka – vaṅśa(vaṁś – ā)laṅkārabhūtasya Va(Vā)-kāṭakāna(nā)[21] –

THIRD PLATE ; FIRST SIDE

16 m=mahārāja – śri(śrī) – Rudrasēnasya sūnōr=mmahārājādhirāja – śrī – Dēvagupta – sū(su)ta(tā)yā –

17 m=Prabhāvati(tī)guptayām=utpannasya śambhōḥ=prasāda – śṛi(dhṛi)ti(ta) – kārtatyu-gasya Vākāṭa –

18 kānām=Parama – māhēśvara[22]=mahārāja – śrī – Pravarasēnasya vachanā[t*]

19 Padmapurasy – āpara – mārggē Matsakadrahan=nāmna(mnā) grāmaḥ[।*] asya cha – āpar – ōttara – pārśvē

20 rāja – mānika – mānēna bhu(bhū)mi – śata – traya(yaṁ)[23] bhāryya(ryyā) Mahādēvi(vīṁ) vijñāpy=āprā(pra)tigrāhi –

THIRD PLATE ; SECOND SIDE

21 ṇaś=ch=ātra maha(mahā)pu[ru*]shasyā(sy-āṁ)śa – dvaya(yaṁ) brāhmaṇa(ṇā)ś=cha Kauṇḍiṇya(nya)sagōtraś=chatu

22 r=vvēda Bō[24](?)ppāryya[ḥ*] Bhāradvāja – gautra[25] Vishṇuvāryya[ḥ*] Bhāradvāj – Āratyāryya[ḥ*]

23 Parāśara – Bhavāryya[ḥ*] Parāśara Bhavaputrāryya[ḥ*] Bhāradvāja – Gollāryya[ḥ*]

24 Bhāradvāja – Śrīyāryya[ḥ*] Kāśyapa – sagōtra Bōppāryya[ḥ*] Kauśika – Nārāyaṇāryya[ḥ*]

25 Kauśika Achalāryya[yaḥ*] Kauṇḍiṇya(nya) Dēvāryya[yaḥ*] Kauṇḍiṇya(nya) Dāmāryya[ḥ*]

FOURTH PLATE ; FIRST SIDE

26 Kauśika – Kēśi(śa)vāryya[ḥ*] Vatsa – Kumārāryya[ḥ*] Vatsa – Kumārāryya[ḥ*] Kāś-yapa – Padāmāryya[ḥ*] Kauṇḍiṇya(nya) –

27 Gōlāryya[ḥ*] Kāśyapa – Gōla(lā)ryya[ḥ*] Gautama – Kōṭṭāryya[ḥ*]Gautama – Ru-drāryya[ḥ*]

28 [26]Rājatintiṇika – nadī – gartta – sabhāmadhyē vāṭaka – bhūmiḥ

29 ēvam – brāhmaṇaṇa – dēv – āśēsya[27] ha Pañcha – vi(viṅ)śatyā vvā(vā)ṭakaḥ grāmasya (sy – ā)para–pārśvē

30 dattaḥ[।*] yatō = smat – satta(nta)kāsa(kās = sa)rvva – āddhyaksha – niyōga – niyuktā ājñā – sañchārī(ri)

31 kula – putr – āḍhikṛitā bhaṭāś = chha(chhā)trāś=cha vṛi(vi)shi(śṛi)ta – pūrvya(rvva)tha (y–ā)jñā(jña)y – ājñāpa –

32 [28]yitavyā[ḥ ।*]

FOURTH PLATE ; SECOND SIDE

33 yathē(th – ā)smābhir=ātmanō dharmm – āyur – bbalam – aiśvaryya[29] vivṛiddhayē ihē (ih=ā)mutra–hitā –

34 rttham – ātm – ānugrahāya Vau(Vai)jayikē dharmasthāṇē(nē) abhaṭach=chha(chhā)tra – prāvēśya[ḥ*]

35 a – pārampara – gō – balīvardda[ḥ*] a – pushpa – kshi(kshī)ra – sandōha[ḥ*] a – chār – aś(sa)na –

36 charm – āṅgāra[ḥ*] a – lavaṇa – klinna – klēṇi – kta(kha)naka[ḥ*] ā – sarvva – vē(vi) shṭi – parihāra –

37 parihṛita[ḥ*] sa – parikli(klṛi)pt – ōparikli(klṛi)pta[ḥ*] ā – chandr – āditya – kālīya [ḥ*] putra –

FIFTH PLATE ; FIRST SIDE

38 pautr – ānugama[ḥ।*]bhuñjatā(tāṁ) na kēnachi[d*] vya(vyā)ghātaḥ=kartavyas=sarvva – kriyābhi[h*] sa(saṁ)rakshi –

39 tavyaḥ parivarddhyitavyaś=cha yaś=ch=āsmach=chhāśa(sa)nō(na)m=agaṇayamāna [ḥ*] svalpām – api

40 paribādhā(dhāṁ) kuryyāt=ka(t=kā)ri(ra)yitā vā tasya brahmaṇā(ṇai)r = āva(vē)ditasya sa – daṇḍa(ṇḍaṁ)

41 nigrahaṁ – kuryyāma । Apu(pū)rvva – dattā udaka – pu(pū)vva(rvva)m – atisṛishṭa(ṭā) [।*] uchitā (tāṁ)ś = ch = āsya

42 pu(pū)rvva rāj – ānumatā(tāṁ)ś = chātur – vvēdya maryy(ryyā)dā parihārān vitara(rā) maḥ[।*] Tad = yathā a-kara –

43 dāyi(yī) daṇḍō(ṇḍa) – nigraha(haṁ) kuryya(ryyā)ma[30][ḥ*।] Api cha[31] dharmm – ādhikaraṇē[32] atīt – ānēka[33] –

FIFTH PLATE ; SECOND SIDE

44 rājattā[34] senāpatō(ti) – Kātyāṇā(n – ā)dayō sakhā – mukh – ājñāptē prabha –

45 vishṇu – gauravād = vā bhavishya vijñāpayitavyā[35] Vyāsa – gi(gī)tau ch=ātra – ślōkō (kau) pra –

46 mānī(ṇī)karttavya(vyau)[।*][sva]dattā(ttāṁ) para – dattā(ttāṁ) vā jō(yō) harētē(ta) vansu(su)ndharā[m।*] Gavā(vāṁ)śata – saha –

47 srasya hatu(ntu)ḥ=pibati[36] dushkṛita[m ॥1॥*] Shashṭi – varisha[37] sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhū[mi*]da[daḥ*] Achchhē

48 ttā ch – ānumattā(ntā) cha tāny = ēva narakē [va*]sē[t ॥2॥*] Varisha[38] ēku(kō)– (natriṁśa[39])d – varshā(ē) – paksha(*kshē*) dviti(tī)ya(yē)

49 divasa(sē) pā(pa)ñchama(mī)[॥*]

Notes :-

1 The Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā form the only known exception.

2 The six measures of policy are *sandhi* (peace or treaty), *vigrāha* (war), *āsana*(indifference), *yāna*, (marching or increasing one's own power), *saṁśraya*(submission) and *dvaidhībhāva* (dual

policy, *viz.*, (entering into peace with one and war with another). See *Arthaśāstra*, vii. 1; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, iii, pp. 222ff.

3 Elsewhere in this record (line 29) the donated land is said to have lain to the west of the village.

4 The reference to royal or standard measurement would show that different measurements were prevalent in different areas of the kingdom. We know from ancient Indian literature that two standards of measurement enjoyed great popularity in early times, *viz.*, *Māgadha* and *Kāliṅga*. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛihatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 341–42. *Rāja-māna* is mentioned in some other records of Pravarasēna II also. For references, see V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, Vol. V: *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, p. 58, note 2.

5 The word *sa-gōtra* is employed only in a few cases, while in a majority of the cases *gōtras* are named without any such expression following them.

6 Riddhapur and Pandhurna plates were issued in the nineteenth and twenty-ninth years respective. See Mirashi, *op. cit.*, nos. 8 and 14.

7 It must be pointed out that this is not a sure indication as we find instances of some of the *Senāpatis* being mentioned in intermittent years.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 61, text-line 44.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 67, text-lines 52-53.

10 For another season date of Pravarasēna II's reign, see *Ibid.*, p. 46, text-line 28 (Dudia pls.). The unpublished Yawatmal plates of the same reign also bear season date.

11 *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, p. 76, text-lines 27-28 and 33-34.

12 The case appears to be analogous to Uttarāpatha and Dakshiṇāpatha which originally denoted northern and southern highways but in course of time came to be applied respectively to North India and the Deccan, the areas through which the highways passed.

13 From original plates and impressions.

14 It is engraved below *siddham* between the first and the second lines in the margin on the left.

15 In other records we have simply *sādyaskra*

16 There is a superflous slanting stroke over *ji*.

17 Better read *samrājō*. Here as well as at many other places *sandhi* rules have not been observed.

18 Better read *sūnōr*.

19 *Bhṛi*, which was left out by oversight, has been engraved, though in a shorter form, below the line, exactly between the *aksharas va* and *tha*, where it is expected.

20 In other plates we generally have *putra - pautrīṇaḥ*.

21 The phrase from *anēka - saṅgrāma* to *Vākāṭakānām* is met with only in this charter.

22 The title *Paramamāhēśvara* is found employed for Pravarasēna II only in some of the grants of his reign.

23 First *na* was engraved and corrected to *tra*; similarly *shya* has been corrected to *ya*, subscript *y* being partly rubbed off.

24 The reading of this letter is extremely doubtful and is based merely on the fact that the names beginning with Boppa and Bāppa are common in the Vākāṭaka records.

25 In keeping with the general practice, better read *sagōtra*.

26 This line is boldly engraved as compared to other lines.

27 The correct restoration and meaning of this portion are uncertain.

28 These letters are engraved below the last but four letters of the preceeding line.

29 Read-*la - vijay - aiśvaryya.*

30 This is an unnecessary repetition. cf. 11.40-41.

31 In other plates we generally find the word *asminś= cha*.

32 *dharmm - ādarakaraṇē*, is the common expression in other charters.

33 Read *atīt - ānēka* as in other plates.

34 Read *rāja - dattam* and complete the sentence by adding *sañchintana - paripālanaṁ kṛita - puṇy - ānukīrttana - parihār - ārttham na kīrttayāmaḥ sva - mukh - ājñaptē ēshyat - kāla - prabhvishṇu gauravād bhavishyāś= cha*

35 Read *Vijñāpayitavyāḥ*

36 Normally we have *hantur= harati*.

37 Read *varshē*.

38 Read *varshē*

39 This portion has become very faint, but the proposed reading seems to find support from the fact mentioned above viz. reference to *Sēnāpati Kātyāyana*.

19 KELAGUNDLI INSCRIPTION OF KADAMBA RAVIVARMA - A NOTE

H. R. Raghunath Bhat

It is needless to emphasise that fresh epigraphical discoveries made from time to time not only serve to improve our knowledge of Karnataka's past, but do help us in the interpretation of certain socio-cultural issues like the popular use of Kannada as the language of the official record in the ancient period. Kelagundli inscription of the time of Kadamba Ravivarma is one of the recently discovered epigraphs of absorbing interest for more than one reason.[1]

The inscription was discovered during my field-work at Kelagundli in Chandragutti hobli, Soraba taluk, Shimoga district, Karnataka.[2] Engraved on a stone slab, the epigraph remains now as a fragmentary lithic record Of course the major part of the inscription is retained on the front surface of the some what irregular slab which has been erected on an elevated area, surrounded by laterite stone circle amidst thick forest, locally called *ūrkān.*

The extant six lines of the epigraph occupy an area of about sixty centimeters by about twenty centimeters. The letters are boldly engraved. It is well preserved except a few letters on the top as well as left hand side of the stone slab. The size of the letters ranges from 3.5 cm. (eg.*i*, 1-5) to about 10 cm. (*ā*, 1-2) in height.

The characters belong to an early variety of Kannaḍa alphabet. On palaeographical grounds the inscription may be ascribed to the latter half of the fifth century. Many of the letters are comparable to those of Halmidi[3]. The inscription is not dated.

The language of the lithic record is old Kannaḍa and the text is written in prose. It contains only six lines and two sentences. The inscription has three parts : The first part (ll. 1-2) indicates the rule of Ravivarma. The main purport of the inscription is recorded in the second part (ll.2-4). The usual imprecatory sentence is engraved in the third part (ll. 5-6).

The primary interest of the inscription lies in its textual interpretation. It may be interpreted in two ways :

1. This may be interpreted to mean that the inscribed stone slab is the (unique) memorial (*Paḍugal*) of Kaḷagujjeni, the senior queen *(piriya arasi*) of Mallige, set up while (Kadamba) Ravivarma was ruling (Banavāsi) kingdom.

2. Dr. K. V. Ramesh, prefers to understand the particular passage, *Mallige, ā arasarā periyā arasi* as Mallige, the senior queen of that king, that king being none else than Ravivarma to whose reign the lithic record refers itself at the very commencement of the extant text. Thus according to Dr. Ramesh, 'the inscription states that the inscribed slab was set up in memory of Mallige, the senior queen of Kadamba Ravivarma '[4]

Incidentally Kāvaḍi inscription of Ravivarma may also be mentioned here[5]. This deserves, however, a fresh study and proper interpretation. According to B. L. Rice, it appears to record the death of Mṛigeśavarma's son Ravivarma, who had a name-ending in *malla*, and that of the queen, his wife, who probably became a *sati* and was burnt with his body.[6] In other words the lithic document records the death of both Ravivarma and his queen ? In view of this interpretation of Kāvaḍi record of the same king, Ravivarma, the above quoted interpretation of Dr. K. V. Ramesh deserves a fresh approach to or study of the whole issue once again.

Kelagundli inscription includes such names as *nāḍu*, Mallige and Kaḷagujjeni which are of geographical interest as well. Though the name of the *nāḍu*, is not found in the present inscription, on the basis of the vicinity of Banavāsi, and the cultural context it may be taken as *Banavāsi nāḍu*.

Kaḷagujjeni appears to be originally a personal name (of the queen) from which the place-name Kelagundli is derived as follows :

Kaḷagujjeni > Kaḷagujjani > Kaḷagujjali > Kaḷagunjali > Kaḷagundali > Kaḷagundali > Keḷagundali > Keḷagundli > Kelagundli — Telagundli.

Though the exact identity of Mallige, is difficult now, it may be taken to have been derived probably from personal name Mallikā (the senior queen of Ravivarma ?) or name of the flower *mallige* (jasmine). However, it reminds us of the present place-name Mallige Kurli in Kuppagadde-hobli, Soraba taluk, Shimoga district or Maḷige in Mundagod taluk, and Sirsi taluk, both of which are not far away from Kelagundli, the find spot of the epigraph.

Of all the terms *paḍu[gal]* in line four of inscription is really of lexical interest. It may remind the similar usages in some ancient Tamil inscriptions like *Paṭṭānkal* or *Paṭṭārkal.*[7] The term *Paḍugal* may be interpreted to mean a memorial stone or *samādhi shilālekha* of a deceased person of some social status, particularly when he or she died a natural death. It also reminds of the Prakrit usage *chhaāpatharo* (*chāyāprasthara*) of the Banavāsi inscription of Vāsishṭīputra Puḷumāvi.[8]

The importance of Kelagundli stone slab inscription of the time of Kadamba Ravivarma may be summed up in the conclusion as follows :

This may be considered as the second earliest Kannaḍa inscription of the Banavāsi Kadambas and the first Kannaḍa record of the Kadamba king Ravivarma so far as we know at present. With the discovery of this inscription along with the Kampli inscription of Ajavarma,[9] "the Halmidi inscription no longer enjoys the previlege of being the only Kannaḍa inscription of the Kadambas of Banavāsi, though it continues to enjoy the credit of being the earliest one so far known."[10] That Kannaḍa language was also popularly used in writing the official records in the Banavāsi Kadamba period is further confirmed by this as well as Kampli inscription.

Written in relatively pure Kannaḍa language of the early Kadamba period, the lithic record gives us the technical term (probably for the first time ?) *paḍugal* which is not only of lexical interest but of cultural significance.

TEXT [11]

1 *svasti śrī Ravivarmma[r]*

2 *nāḍāḷe Mallige ā*

3 *arasarā periyā arasi*

4 *kaḻa gujjeniyā paḍu*[*gal*] [॥*]

5 *inni* (*nti*)*dānnaḻivōrpa[ñchapā]*

6 *daga samyuttarappā* (*ppō*)[*r*] *[॥*]*

Notes :

1 A detailed study of this inscription along with the antiquities of the Early Kadamba period is being undertaken and will be published in *Epigraphia Indica.*

2 My thanks are due to my brother Sri M. R. Bhat and friends like Doggana Keriya Naik, T. Basavaraj Bommaigowda, Tabali Bangarappa Naik, Ganapati Naik who rendered their help in the discovery of this inscription.

3 See *MAR*, 1936, No. 6, pp. 72-3, plate.

4 *QJMS*, Vol. LXXIV-4, pp. 324.

5 *EC*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 523.

6 *Ibid.* Intr. p. 3.

7 Some of the *Vīragals* of the Pallava period found in Dharmapuri district mention these terms.

8 See, *JESI*, Vol. I, pp. 34 ff, plate.

9 *EI.*, Vol. XXXIX, No 11 pp. 75ff.

10 *QJMS*, *op. cit.*

11 From ink impressions.

[I owe my sincere thanks to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Chief Epigraphist of India, Dr. B. B. Rajapurohit, Dr. T. V. Venkatachalashastri, Sri Sitarama Jagirdar, Sri N. S. Taranath and Smt. Shalini Raghunath for their valuable suggestions in the study of this inscription.]

20 NOTE ON KALABHRAS

M. J. Sharma

The text portion pertaining to the Kaḷabhras in the Vēlvikuḍi grant[1] of Neḍunjaḍaiyan reads thus :

'Aḷav-ariya ādhirājarai agala nīkki agal-iḍattai=k Kaḷabhraṉ=eṉṉuṅ=Kali - araisāṉ kaikkoṇḍ=adaṉai īṟakkiyapiṉ[॥*]'
This was translated as : 'then a Kali king named Kaḷabhran took possession of the extensive earth driving away numberless great kings (*ādhirajarai*) and resumed the (village mentioned) above.

Another reference to them given in the same grants reads as, '*kaḍaṟ - rāṉaiy = āya Kaḷabhrarāl*' and was translated as 'ocean-like army of the Kaḷabhras'.

The above significant statement referring to the Kaḷabhra occupation for some period had become an important issue in the History of South India. Prof. K.A.N. Sastri observes, 'A long historical night ensues after the close of Sangam age. We know little of the period of more than three centuries that followed. When the curtain rises again towards the close of the sixth century A. D., we find that a mysterious and ubiquitous enemy of civilization, the evil rulers called Kaḷabhras have come and upset the established political order which was restored only by their defeat at the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas'[2].

This dark period which has been identified with the above Kaḷabhra occupation, ensued as we learn from the Vēḷvikuḍi plates, when the Kaḷabhras overran the Pāṇḍyan country sometime after Mudukuḍumi's time and ended when a powerful Pāṇḍyan, named Kaḍuṅgōṉ conquered the whole land from his enemies (Kalabhras). It was also known that the Pallava king Simhavishṇu who stands at the beginning of an important line of Pallava rulers and whose accession has been placed C.A.D. 575, claims to have had conquered the Kaḷabhras. Kāḍuṅgōṉ, like the above Pallava king, stands at the beginning of the line of rulers who ruled after the Sangam age, and he had been placed at the beginning of 7th century or even in the end of 6th century A. D. Both the above Pāṇḍya and Pallava kings were placed chronologically roughly at the same time and since the Kaḷabhra occupation was a danger which threatened the independence of both the Pāṇḍya and Pallava dynasties, it was presumed that these kings either independently or in co-operation with each other, managed to throw off this incubus before they started on their long careers of expansion and success.[4]

Of the Kaḷabhras, scholars have not yet come to any definite knowledge. Several theories have been putforth in regard to their identity and their homeland before they occupied the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. Some have identified their original settlement with Kaḷabappunāḍu or Kaḷavappunāḍu, a region around Śravaṇabeḷagola and some others with the region around Nandi hill (Karnataka) and Vengaḍam mountain. Of

the recent theories two of them have to be mentioned here. K. G. Krishnan identified them with a tribe known as Kaḷavar or Kaḷvar inhabiting the Vēṅgaḍam (Tirumalai-Tirupati) region and suggests that sometime before about 4th century A. D., owing to the pressure from Pallavas they have drifted towards south and possibly adopted the title Muttaraiyar (lords of three territories i. e. Chōḷā, Chēra and Pāṇḍya). He further thinks that after this drift to south, the Kaḷvar (Kaḷabhra) tribe had sought the Kāvēri region from about the fifth to the ninth century. In this process, he identifies a certain Accuta a lord of Nandi hill who is mentioned in *Yāpparuṅgalavṛitti*, a work of tenth century with Accuta vikkanta (Achyuta-vikrānta) a Kaḷamba (Kaḷabhra) king ruling from Kāvēripaṭṭaṇa, referred to in a Pāli text *Vinayaviniccaya* by Buddhadatta Thera living in about the beginning of fifth century A. D.[5] Another view[6] though do not pertain to the identity of the homeland of the Kaḷabhras, identifies them with the Koṅgu rulers of 9th–10th century by equating the title *Kali-nṛipa* borne by kings like Kokkandan Ravi, with *Kali-arasan* of Vēlvikuḍi plates.

Thus, whatever may be the views, so far none of the scholars could succeed in making a definite identification of the Kaḷabhras and their homeland for want of direct epigraphical evidence emerging from the period of Kaḷabhra occupation (identified with roughly three centuries before the close of 6th century A. D.) or any other literary evidences of that period referring to them exactly by the same name which occurs in the Vēlvikuḍi plates.

Yet, there still remains a lone reference found in an epigraph from Halmiḍi (Hassan District, Karnataka) belonging to the first half of 5th century A. D., the significance of which was underrated by historians so far. This Halmiḍi inscription[7] which is in Kannaḍa script and language belongs to Early Kadamba king Kākusthavarma who ruled between C. 405 to 430 A. D.[8] He bears an appellation '*Kalabhōranā-ari*' meaning the enemy of Kalabhōra or the enemy of the ruler of Kalabhōra. The word 'Kalabhōra' has been identified with 'Kalabhra' as it sounds more or less similar and its equation is more acceptable for its nearness than the other forms mentioned above by the scholars. Incidentally, Kākusthavarma's rule which being C. 405-430 A. D. falls contemporaneous and within the period of Kaḷabhra occupation mentioned above, and his bearing the appellation 'Kalabhōranā ari' which significantly means that he was a contemporary to the Kaḷabhras and might have had battles fought for being called as their enemy (*ari*), becomes appropriate and attested.

In keeping the view of the above valuable contemporary epigraphical evidence,[10] if we assess the political situation prevailing then, with the help of the inscriptions of Kākusthavarma and other known facts, we may be able to locate the homeland of the Kaḷabhras and probably the direction of their invasion and occupation in South India.

Kākusthavarma who was compared with the lord of the gods (Surēndra) and described as the moon in the firmament of the great lineage of the Kadamba leaders of armies in the Tālagunda inscrip-

tion,[11] was one of the most prominent kings of the Early Kadamba family. During his times, the Kadamba kingdom founded by Mayūraśarma, rose to zenith in both power and prosperity. He had fostered friendship through matrimonial alliances with Guptas and Vākāṭakas in the North and Gaṅgas in the South. From his Halmiḍi inscription we learn that his kingdom was extended in the west with the defeat of Kēkeyas who ruled over the coastal North Kanara region and in south east with the defeat of the Pallavas, and his subordinates were the powerful families of Sēndrakas, the Bāṇas and the Bhaṭaṛis.[12] Thus the Kadamba kingdom which started expanding during the time of Mayūraśarma (C. 325-345 A.D.) not only stayed strong and growing but also became powerful with the friendships of Guptas, Vākāṭakas and Gaṅgas and with the defeat of the powerful Pallavas during Kakusthavarma's rule.

With the above political background, if some of the views identifying the homeland of Kaḷabhras with some places in Karnataka (see above) are examined, they may be disproved easily. For, to identify the homeland of Kaḷabhras who were the known enemies of Kadambas within their (Kadamba) own kingdom or within the domains of their friendly kings is illogical. Hence, to locate their homeland we have to turn to South. From the Halmiḍi inscription it is already known that some time during his rule Kākusthavarma had defeated the Pallavas and his appellation 'Kaḷabhōranā – ari' (the enemy of the Kaḷabharas) which points out that the next enemy who were the Kaḷabhras, must have occupied the territories immediate to the Pallava kingdom. Thus it is clear that the Pallavas were also facing a threat from the Kaḷabhras during this period. As seen above, the Kaḷabhras might have had already occupied the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and were surging north. This leads us to believe that the Kaḷabhra invasion and occupation took place from the southward direction and further poses a question that before occupying the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, from which place the Kaḷabhras have come. Since the Pāṇḍyan kingdom borders the Indian continent, naturally, the original home of the Kaḷabhras have to be located somewhere in the island of of Ceylon or in other nearby islands.

In the Vēḷvikuḍi grant, the following text portion immediately after the one referring to Kaḷabhra occupation is worth noticing in the context of above deduction, and its translation[13] reads thus : 'After that (the Kaḷabhra occupation), like the sun rising from the expansive ocean, the Pāṇḍyādhirāja named Kaḍuṅgōṇ the lord of the South of sharp javelin who wore the dignity of and was the leader of the army, sprang forth, occupied (the throne) – destroyed kings of the *extensive earth surrounded by the sea* together with the (their) strongholds and their fame, wielded the septre (of justice) and removed by his, strength the evil destiny of the goddess of Earth'. The expressions 'the kings of the extensive earth surrounded by the sea' and 'the evil destiny of the goddess of earth' may as well be connected with the Kaḷabhras. It may be interpreted that Kaḍungōṇ after re-occupying his kingdom, destroyed the Kaḷabhra kings whose kingdoms and strongholds surrounded by the

sea, which in other words mean an island, and removed their evil hold on the goddess of earth.

The above points and discussion leading to the identity of Kaḷabhras, force us to deduce that the Kaḷabhras were a foreign power. The proud appellation 'Kaḷabhōranā – ari' of Kākusthavarma sounds similar to the title 'Śakāri' held by Chandragupta II,[14] the Gupta king and the former seemed to have got inspired from the latter as in both the cases the enemies were the foreigners.

In his 'Ancient Jaffna', Rasanayagam refers to an island port named 'Cala' or Kala, in the kingdom of Jaffna. According to him, Cala, which was also known as Kalah and as Kalah-bar, represented Kalam, now called Kaḷa Bhumi, a part of the island of Kāraitive opposite to the port of Kayts. Further he writes that the place must have received its appellation "Kala Bhumi" (land of ships) after the advent of Kalinga kings to Jaffna.[15] We further learn from his book that the evidences from the accounts of Magasthanase and Aelian, show that there was sea-borne trade between Ceylon and Kalinga earlier than 300 B. C. and till the early part of 19th century, elephants were shipped from the port of Kalah or Kayts and that the specially constructed crafts for the elephants were known as "elephant ships' which were referred to as part of the trophies of Khāravela in his Hathigumpha inscription.[16] From the above information, the port Kalah or Kalah-bar and Kalabhumi identified with the part of an island together with other islands forming the Jaffna peninsula, must have been once upon a time, a clustre of powerful trading and navigational centres. The close resemblance of names 'Kalahbar, Kalah, Kala-bhumi with the 'Kaḷabhras' naturally persuades us to identify the 'homeland of the Kaḷabhras with above mentioned port-islands of Jaffna peninsula. It is interesting to note in this context that the word 'Kalabha' means 'an young elephant'[17] or 'the young of an elephant' and again the meaning given in the Tamil lexicon to the word 'Kalam' is 'a boat or a ship'.[18] These words denoting the navigation and possibly, trade of young elephants might have formed the basis for the words 'Kalabhra' and 'Kalabhumi', or "Kalah-bar'. It is of further interest that Nāgadipa or Nāgadiba,[19] the island which has been identified with the present peninsula of Jaffna[20] was taken as a seperate country in the ancient times. And, Buddhism flourished here as early as 3rd century B. C. This point further supports the identification of the homeland of the Kaḷabhras as we know that the Kaḷabhras were anti-brahmanical and they, after occupying the Pāṇḍyan country, cancelled *brahmadēya* rights and upset the political order. Accuta Vikkānta, the Kaḷamba king who was ruling from Kāvēripaṭṭaṇa was a Buddhist.

The Kalabhras might have had a powerful naval fleet as they could conquer the Pāṇḍyas from the sea and later Chōḷas and Chēras. Recently a Tamil inscription was discovered at a place called Pūlāṅkurichchi in Ramanathpuram District (Tamilnadu) and was placed palaeographically in C. 500 A. D. N. Sethuraman identifies a certain Chēndan Kuṟṟar mentioned in the inscription as a Kaḷabhra king and Dr. K. V. Ramesh,[21] while supporting the above view, goes further in drawing the attention to the expression *'kaḍal – aga – pperumpaḍai*

– *ttalaivan*' referring obviously to an officer of the navy, probably under the above Kaḷabhra king.

The impact of the sufficiently long Kaḷabhra occupation in South India was such that the people were effected both in political and social life. The inter migration of the people between Jaffna and South India probably might have begun right from this early period. Their occupation in the Pāṇḍyan country might have resulted uprooting the Pāṇḍyas who might have possibly taken asylum in the coastal South Kanara (Karnataka), probably entering by the sea. This explains the existence of a Pāṇḍyan family in South Kanara and to them probably the Āḷupas might have belonged.[22] Possibly later, this family in Karnataka might have given a helping hand to the Pāṇḍyas in regaining their territories from Kaḷabhras.[23]

Notes :–

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, No. 16, pp. 298 ff.

2 K. A. N. Sastri : A History of South India. p. 144

3 Same author : Pāṇḍyan kingdom, p. 42

4 *Ibid.*, p. 42

5 K. G. Krishnan : Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy, pages 133-139.

6 Natana Kasinathan : '*Kalabhras Identified*' in South Indian Studies II, pages 180-85.

7 M. A. R. 1936, pages 72-81 and plate.

8 A History of Karnataka. p. 79

9 M. A. R. 1936 pages 73-74.

10 See *JESI*, Vol. IX, pages 81-82.

11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 34

12 *JESI*, Vol. IX, p. 81-82

13 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 306

14 *CII*, Vol. III, Revised, p. 67

15 Rasanāyagam : Ancient Jaffna, p. 195

16 *Ibid.*, p. 118

17 Monier Williams : Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 260

18 Tamil Lexicon, p. 778

19 Ancient Jaffna, pages 118-119

20 The word 'Nāga' also means 'an elephant' Monier Williams : Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 533

21 K. V. Ramesh : Keynote address delivered in 31st International Congress of Human Sciences, Tokyo. (Typescript) – pages 5-9

22 *ARSIE.*, 1927-28, No. 375, Inscription from Poḷaliammuṇaje, Mangalore Taluk, South Kanara District, Note the expression '*Pāṇḍyānām – Āḷupendrāṇām*'.

23 Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, pages 42-43, Foot note No. 3, referring to a Karnataka king in Madura.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Prehistoric Afghanistan : A source book by V. C. Srivastava (Indological Publications, Allahabad, 1982. pp. XXV+244 with 135 figures ; 18 Maps and 8 Charts ; Price Rs. 250/–, $ 30/- or £ 15/-)

The Prehistory of Afghanistan was terra-incognita till recently ; the protohistoric cultural phase of the region was well known for the last six decades due to the work of savants like M. Aurel Stein, N. G. Majumdar, C. Masson, H. H. Wilson etc. But very little or no work pertaining to prehistory proper had been done till recently. But the region possessed great potentialities as it should be evident to any careful investigator since the surrounding areas like Punjab to the east and Iran and Iraq to the west and north-west had revealed rich wealth of prehistoric remains.

The credit of focussing scholarly attention on the prehistory of Afghanistan should go to the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan in the twenties of the present century. W. A. Fairservis (jr) examined the causes for the sad neglect of prehistoric reasons in this region in 1961 but by that time Stuart Piggot, Dupree, F. R. Allchin and others from early 1950s had started the era of discoveries and by 1978, the picture became clear resulting in the publication of a volume on the 'Archaeology of Afghanistan' with contributions by a number of field workers and edited by F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond.

But all the prehistoric material known upto date was not available under one cover which hampered the students and workers in the prehistoric studies of Afghanistan and neighbouring areas. This lacuna has been admirably filled up by Prof. Srivastava who during his visiting Professorship in Ancient History and Archaeology at Kabul University during the years 1976–79 has acquired a first-hand knowledge of the prehistoric antiquities of Afghanistan. He has in a masterly style produced a monograph which provides a complete panorama of prehistoric of Stone Age Afghanistan as known at present.

The first chapter on the Physical setting provides the background of the early man in Afghanistan. He, as presently known, appeared during the lower palaeolithic stage for which the evidence available is still very scanty and continued through the middle and upper palaeolithic stages spilling over into the holocene, the human activities like the mesolithic and neolithic times, also recorded by this monograph.

Thus this volume by Prof. Srivastava provides a well-presented account of the stone-ages of Afghan man which is still in its infancy and the students have to await a comprehensive account of prehistory of Afghanistan in the years to come.

B. K. Gururaja Rao

Svasti Śrī (Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra Felicitation Volume), published by Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi 1984, pp. I-XXVII and 376 (with 15 plates and 1 line drawing).

Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra is one of the most illustrious Indologists of this century. As a renowned Sanskritist, great epigraphist and discerning historian, Dr. Chhabra has enriched Indological studies very significantly and made lasting contributions in the field of Indian culture. It is a matter of great delight that a befitting felicitation volume has at last come out in honour of this great savant. The volume is very aptly entitled *Svasti Śrī*, reflecting the abundance of auspiciousness and prosperity which symbolise the very personality of the revered Indologist honoured here.

Consisting of forty eight research papers by fifty-four authors, emcompassing various aspects of Indological researches of recent times, the volume is very neatly, decently and qualitatively printed. The papers dwell on various aspects like epigraphy, history, archaeology, numismatics, seals, religion and socio-economic studies.

It is really a matter for satisfaction that the editors have laid significant emphasis on the inclusion of sufficient number of articles on epigraphy, the subject most dear to Dr. Chhabra's heart, while enough consideration is also shown towards other subjects-thus reflecting a happy blend of the researches on different aspects of Indology. There is also an article dealing with greater Indian inscriptions, a subject in which Dr. Chhabra himself is a poineering authority. While ensuring variety, the papers included in the volume reflect a high standard. The contributors include scholars of three generations starting with the early contemporaries of Dr. Chhabra and including his latest students and youngest admirers. While the article on the biographical sketch of Dr. Chhabra reflects his colourful personality, the section dealing with his outstanding literary contributions hints at his scholastic accomplishments of a rare type. There is a useful list of contributors provided at the very commencement of the volume.

While the articles on epigraphy mainly dwell on hitherto unknown political and cultural events, those on archaeology, history, numismatics, socio-economic and religious aspects highlight certain new facets which make our understanding of the subjects more thorough. As for the discussion on scripts, the papers dwelling on greater Indian, Tamil and Grantha scripts throw welcome light on the influence of the scripts of the adjoining regions or areas reflecting the cultural contiguity. There are interesting articles on the tribes of the Himalayan region, theological factors, interpretation of terms occuring in the dance and drama contexts, socio-economic facts connected with the institution of temples, assessment of some factors pertaining to ancient literature, iconographical data, interpretation of the terms connected with the sculptural and architectural studies and those occurring in inscriptions etc. While it is not possible, within the scope of this brief review, to place before the readers detailed observations on various aspects of the new or re-assessed factors brought to light through the articles included in the volume, it can be stated with confidence that the volume, has provided rich information on various aspects of Indological studies and thus enlarged our vista.

The volume is one of the best produced in recent years on the subject. With very neat printing, qualitative binding, at-

tractive and meaningful jacket and suitable paper and plates, the volume is bound to earn the admiration of one and all. The editors Dr. Ramesh, Dr. Agam Prasad and Dr. Tewari deserve our very hearty congratulations for their best efforts in producing the volume. The Agam Kala Prakashan must be congratulated for bringing out such a covetable volume in honour of this great Indologist of our times. The person honoured is so noble and this volume presented to him so auspeciously named that the reviever would like to conclude his pleasent task by quoting the ancient epigraphical invocation '*svastyastu lēkhaka-vāchahaka-śrōṭribhyaḥ.*'

Madhav N. Katti

Medieval Pāṇḍyas (1000-1200 A. D.) by N. Sethuraman, Published by the author, Kumbakonam, 1980. Crown Quarto, pp 200 with 5 Plates. Price not mentioned.

The obscure chronology and the unintelligible genealogy of the Medeival Pāṇḍyas remain to be worked out thoroughly. The skeletal frame-work provided by the pioneers needs to be improved upon. Mr. Sethuraman has fulfilled this long-felt need and the fruit of his labour is the outcome of the present book on Medieval Pāṇḍyas whose nomenclature is generally made either by the *Praśastis* or dates of accession. The methodology adopted in this book is the same as that of his earlier publications. This work consists of three parts a) the Chōḷa chronology b) the Imperial Pāṇḍyas and c) the Medieval Pāṇḍyas. The restricted and relevant discussions in the first two parts are solely meant for identifying the Medieval Pāṇḍyas, whose chronology forms the theme of the book in part three.

A unique methodology is employed in this Book apart from Mathematics, viz., the process of knowing the unknown from known facts. As such, the whole book can be compared to a *pentagon*. The Nucleus is the Medieval Pāṇḍyas and the five sides of the *pentagon*, on which Sri N. Sethuraman has built his theory, are :-

1. The imperial Pāṇḍyas (1190-1372 A D.) who are already known.
2. The established chronology of the Chōḷas of the 12th and 13th centuries.
3. The inscriptional references of the Āḷupas (1114-1155 A. D.).
4. The contemporary Koṅgu records, and
5. The evidence of the Chronicle, *Mahāvaṁśa* of ceylon.

The author has made good use of the source materials and has built up his theories with admirable and reasonable accuracy with conclusive proofs.

It is a well known fact that the Chōḷas of this period were at their zenith. They were at loggerheads with the Paṇḍyas. Internal dissensions were rampant. The Paṇḍyan country was beset with civil wars (pp. 68-71 ; 79-82). The Madurai throne had become a 'Musical Chair'. Part III which is the essence of Sri. Sethuraman's book opens with the discussions on Jaṭā Śrīvallabha (Acc 1014 A. D.) and ends with the closing years of Jaṭā Vīrapāṇḍya (Acc. 1170 A. D.). In these pages the author has discussed in detail the contemporary Chōḷa and Āḷupa records and postulates

that the Medieval Pāṇḍyas were subordinates under the Chōḷas. The internal evidence of the contemporary inscriptions and the references that are found about the predecessors in the records of the later Pāṇḍyas are exhaustively examined by the author in the light of the Ceylon Chronicle. He makes a clear and unambiguous distinction between the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai and Tirunelveli. He identifies the *Praśastis* analytically and has shown how the earlier authors has committed the fallacy of chronological overlappings with irreconcilable dates.

In addition to the exact bracketing of the reign-periods of each king on solid grounds, the author proceeds to highlight some of his discoveries :-

1. Māṟa Śrīvallabha of the 15th century was mistaken for a 12th century ruler (page 112).
2. The wrong identification of Parāntakadēva of the Kanyākumari record as a Pāṇḍya whereas in reality he was the first son of Kulōttuṅga I (page 97).
3. The identification of Mānābharaṇa mentioned in the Śrīraṅgam inscription of the Āḷupa king, Vīra Kavi Āḷupēndra as the son of Jaṭā Śrīvallabha (1101-1024 A. D.) (page 90–93).
4. Incidentally he has disproved on valid epigraphical evidence the theory that there was enmity between Kulōttuṅga III and Rājādhirāja II (p. 45)

The appendix-chapters on Jaṭā Vīrapāṇḍya throw welcome light on the dates of accession viz. 1253 and 1254 A.D. of two Pāṇḍya kings bearing identical names. The chapters on 'Sōḻavandāṉ Complex' (page 166) and Ceylon (page 154) show the antiquity of the place and Indo-Ceylon relationship *vis a vis* the Pāṇḍyas respectively.

The chronological events 1014 to 1219 A.D. is an important corollary. For the first time, the author has given all the Tamil *Praśastis* of the Medieval Pāṇḍyas along with his critical comments in appropriate places for the benefit of the researchers.

With permutations and combinations of various inscriptions of different dynasties, this Mathematical wizard has deduced precise conclusions, multiplied our interests in chronology, added informative details to the very last digit and thus totally can be rated as one of the foremost epigraphist who has simplified and solved the medieval Pāṇḍya chronology after having gone to the very root of the problem book.

The book is a must in the shelf of any keen student of South Indian History.

C. R. Srinivasan

Three Grants from Rāgōlu by N. Mukunda Row, published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1982., pages I to VIII and 1 to 32., plates twenty ; price not indicated.

Of the three copper plate grants, all of which belong to Rāgōlu, a village in Srikakulam Taluk and District of Andhra Pradesh, the first was issued by *Mahārāja* Nandaprabhañjanavarma in his 24th regnal year. The second belongs to the reign of Anantavarma Vajrahasta III and the third to the reign of Anaṅga Bhīma III, both of whom belong to the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. All the three plates are in Sanskrit language.

The first grant is in Southern Brāhmī (box-headed variety) of the 5th–6th century A.D., while the second and third are in Nāgarī and Kaliṅga characters respectively, the latter being classified by the author as a class of Proto-Bengali.

The contents of the grants are of usual nature. The objects of the first grant is to register the gift of a *parivarttaka-vāṭaka-nibandha* situated in the village Rāgōlaka (i.e., Rāgōlu), free from taxes, for the merit and glory of the king. The *ājnapti* of the grant is the king himself. Since no dynastic details are given in the grant, the author, on the basis of other evidences known, infers the family to be the Pitṛibhakta.

The second grant which belongs to reign of Vajrahasta III, is dated Śaka 981 (1059 A. D.) and it purports to register gifts of two villages (details given), along with the hunting right, to two persons (names mentioned), for the merit of his parents and himself. The third grant belongs to the reign of Anaṅga Bhīma III, and is dated Śaka 1129 (1207 A.D.). The object of the grant is to register a gift of two *vāṭis* (plots) of land in three villages including the findspot of the record (i.e., Rāgōlu) for his own wellbeing, that of his parents and empire.

The grants, though of usual type, enrich our knowledge about the history of the dynasties to which the rulers, referred to above, belonged. While in the case of the first charter some more clinching evidences are required to decide the dynasty of the ruler Nandaprabhañjanavarma, in the case of the second and third plates, the political events fall within the known compass. However the third grant furnishes some more interesting and new details about the accession of the king Anaṅga Bhīma. It is of interest to epigraphists that in this record we come across the officers like *Śāsanādhikāri* Gaṅgā dharyya and *Tāmrādhikāri* Lōkāi (text line 123 and p. 17) figuring as some of the donees.

The author has tried to highlight every important detail as can be gleaned through the charters. However, some more discussion on the types of lands like *parivarttaka-vāṭaka*, *nakshatrikāṅka-bhūmi* and *māsōpavāsa-kshētra*, (Chapter 1, text lines 3–6 and 13 and p. 2) would have been very much welcome. He has dwelt on political and other matters evidenced by the charters comprehensively. He deserves our hearty congratulations for placing before the scholars the three Copper Plate grants, which definitely enrich the history of the ruling families to which they belonged and the region from were they are recovered. It is hoped that Shri Mukunda Row will bring to light more of such grants and also volumes on different dynasties and help advancement of epigraphical and historical research. The get up and printing of the book are neat. The Government of Andhra Pradesh should be congratulated for bringing out this volume.

Madhav N. Katti

PLATE I

TEMBHURNI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I

[i]

[iia]

[iib]

[iii]

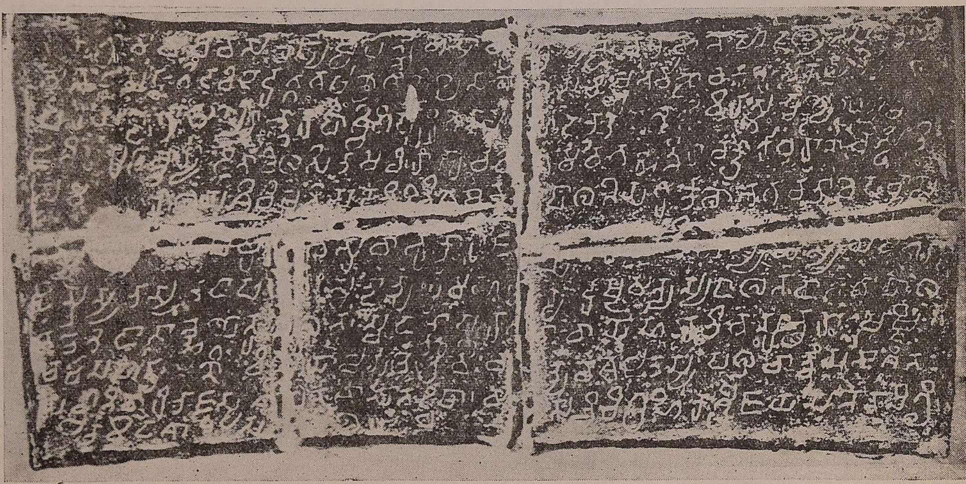
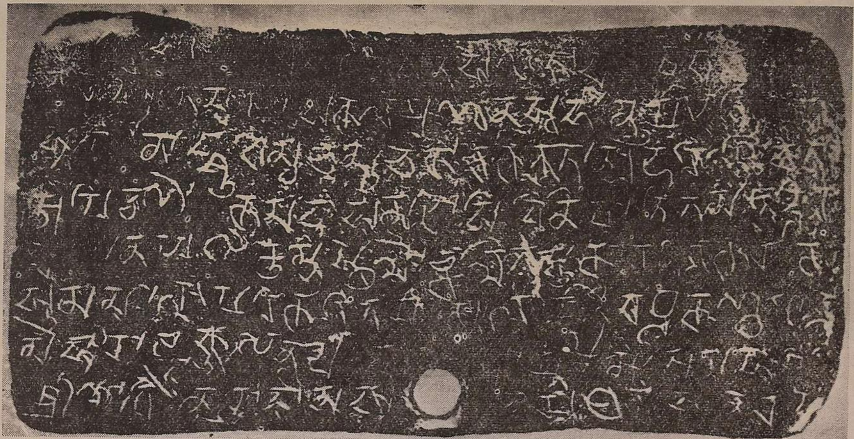


PLATE II

BHINDHON PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA KAKKARAJA

[i]



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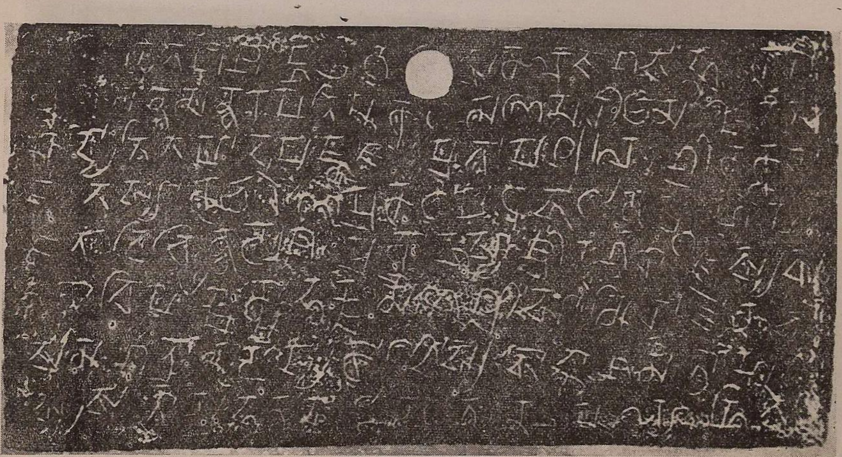

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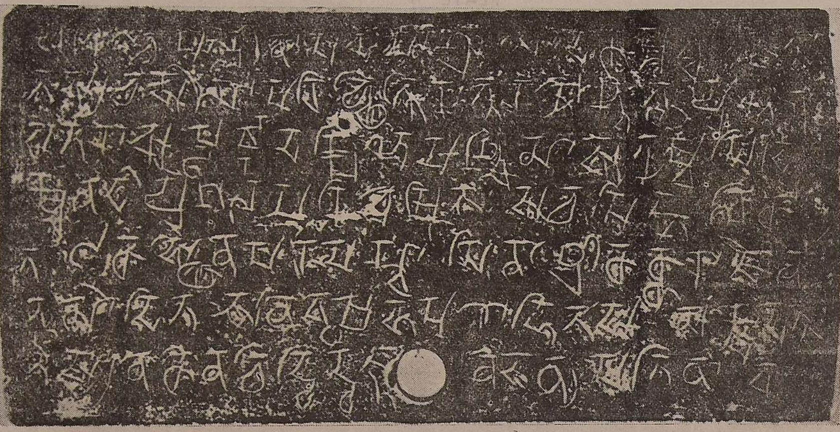

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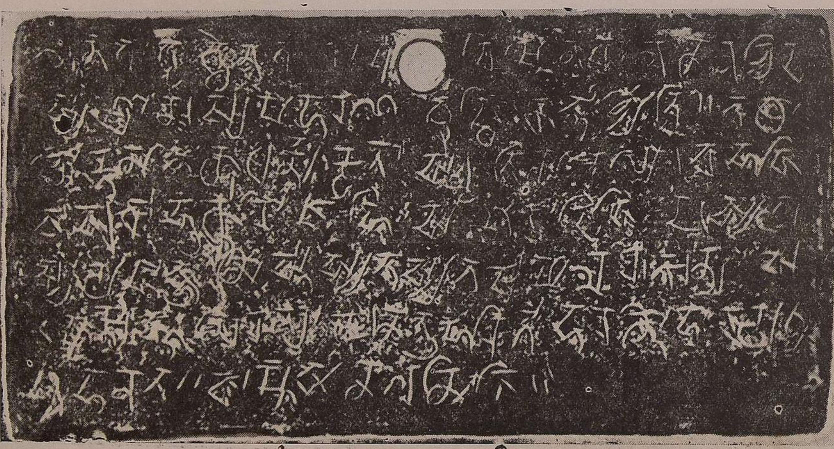
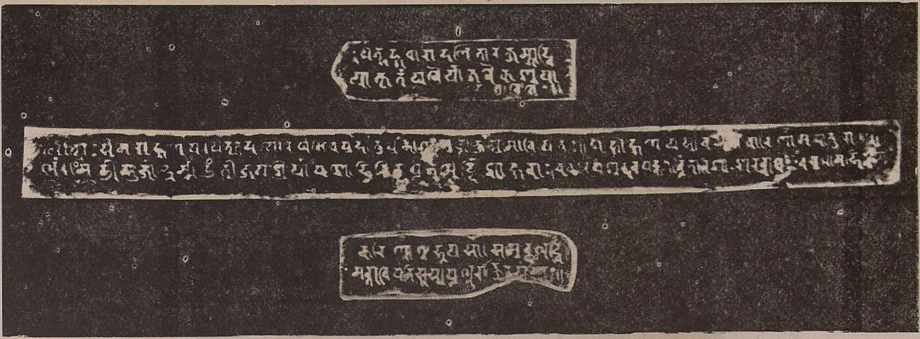


PLATE III

A FRAGMENTARY DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION OF PURNARAKHSITA

[i]



[ii]

[iii]

PLATE IV

MATHURA INSCRIPTION OF HUVISHKA, YEAR 50

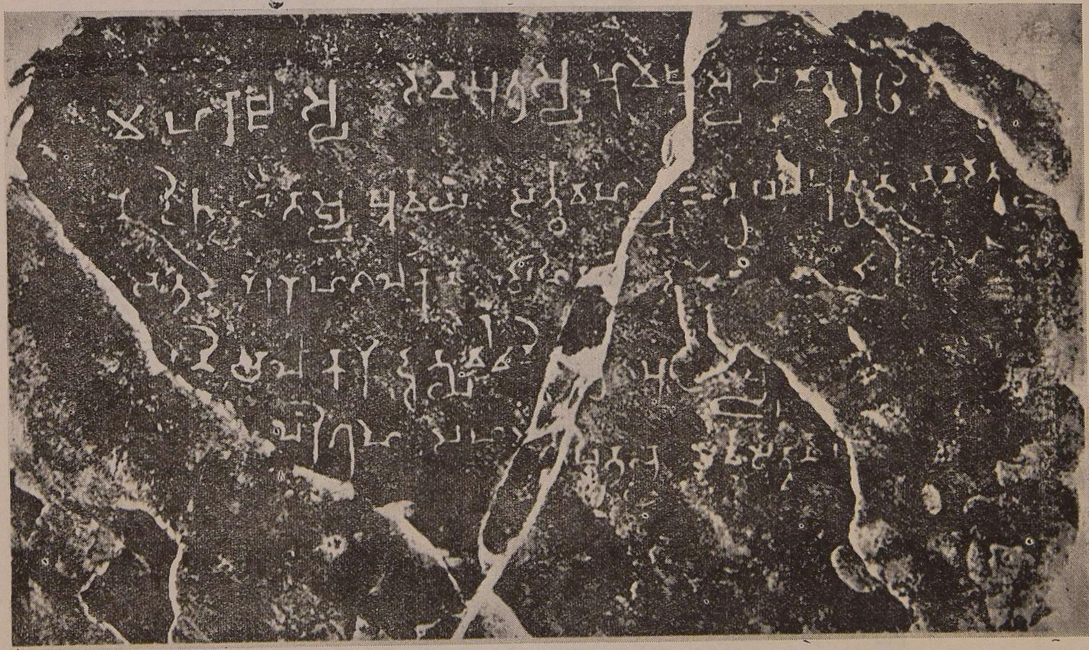


PLATE V

A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF PAIRS OF INDUS SIGNS WITH JAR OR LANCE

ROMAN LETTER	SIGN	POPULAR DESCRIPTION	ROMAN LETTER	SIGN	POPULAR DESCRIPTION
A		MORTAR	L		LEAN CRAB
B		JAR	M		OPEN CROSSROAD
C		PESTLE'N MORTAR	N		CLOSED CROSSROAD
D		FORKED MORTAR	P		DIAMOND
E		LANCE	Q		DOUBLE STROKE
F		FISH	R		WHEEL
G		ONE-EYED FISH	S		DEITY
H		SLASHED FISH	T		CROWN
I		CAPPED FISH	U		HILL
J		HORNED FISH	V		HARROW
K		FAT CRAB			

PLATE VI

BAGH HOARD OF COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS

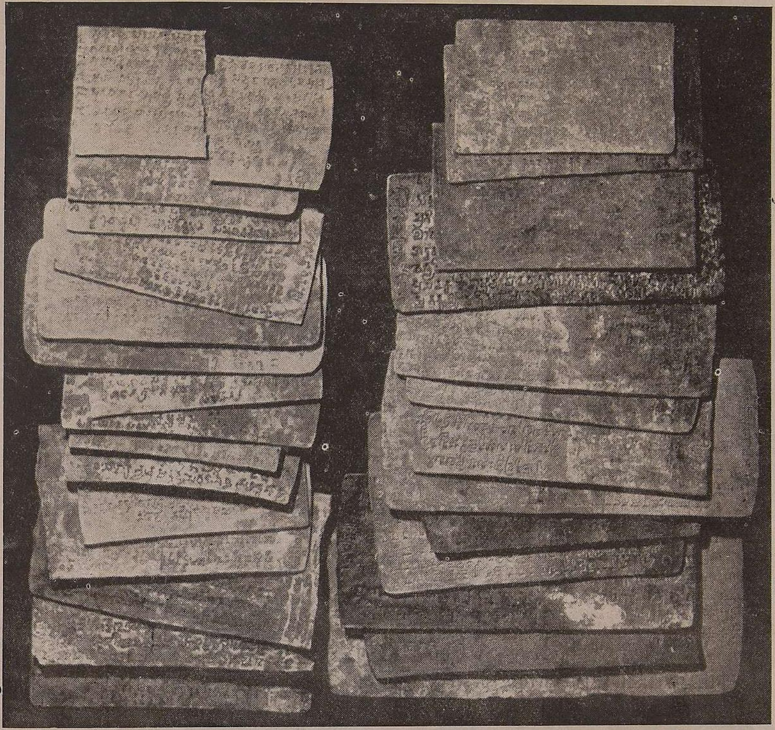


PLATE VII

RISTHAL INSCRIPTION OF AULIKARA PRAKASADHARMMA, [VIKRAMA] YEAR 572

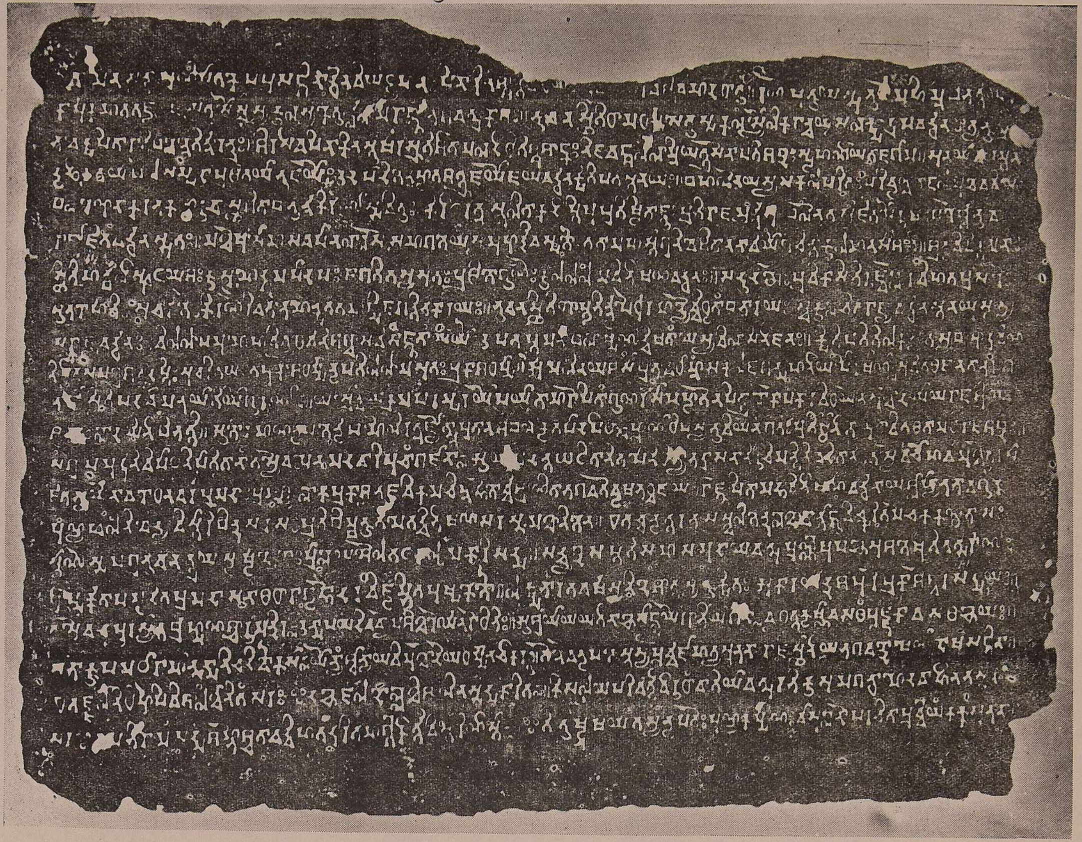
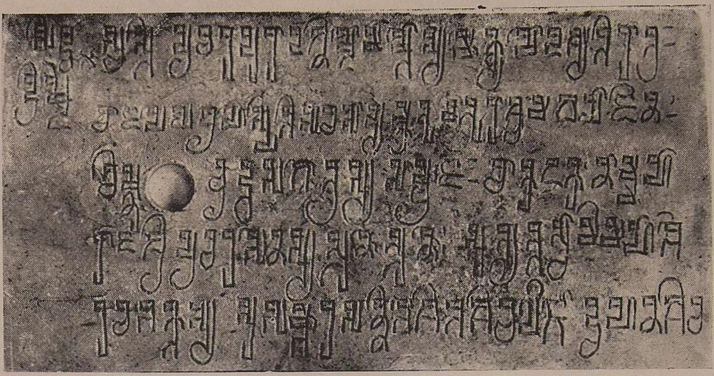


PLATE VIII

MASODA COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF PRAVARASENA II, YEAR 29



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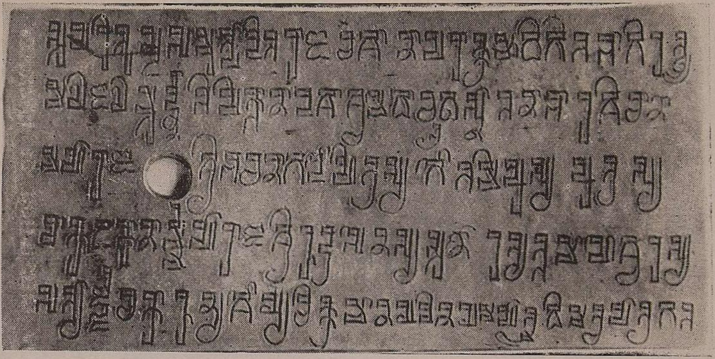

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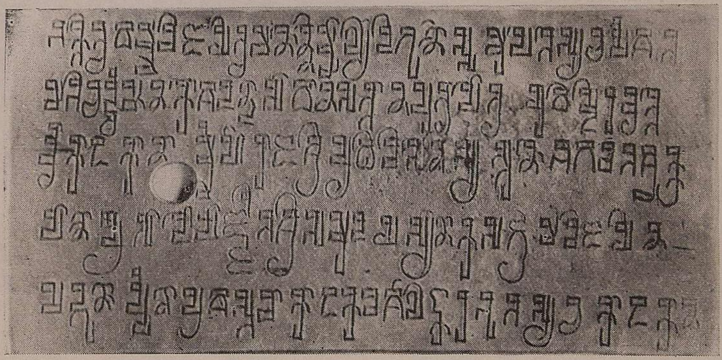

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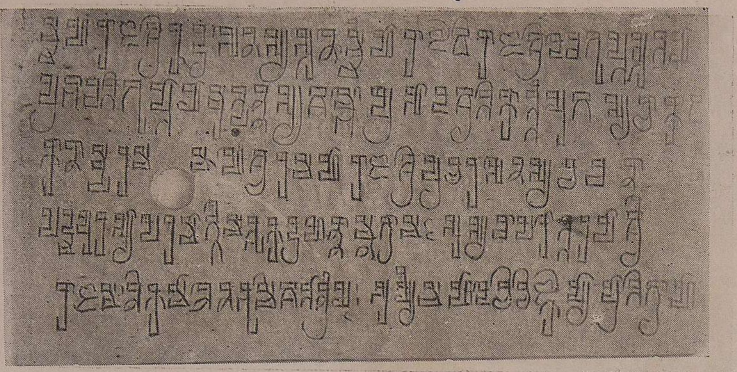

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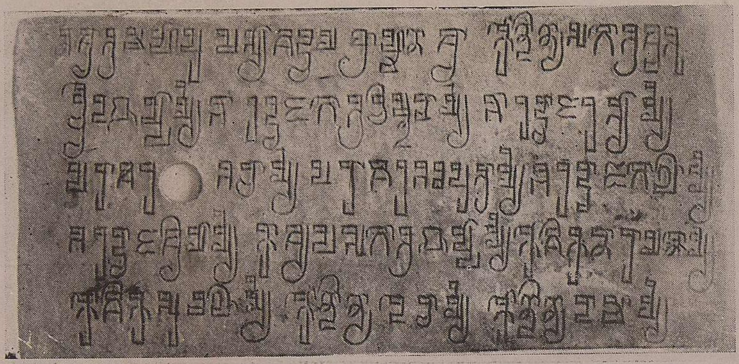

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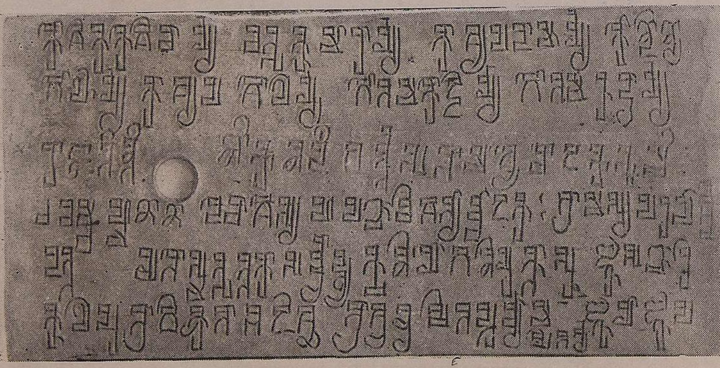

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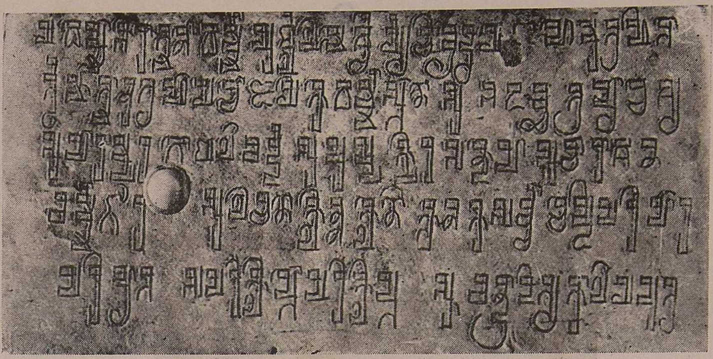
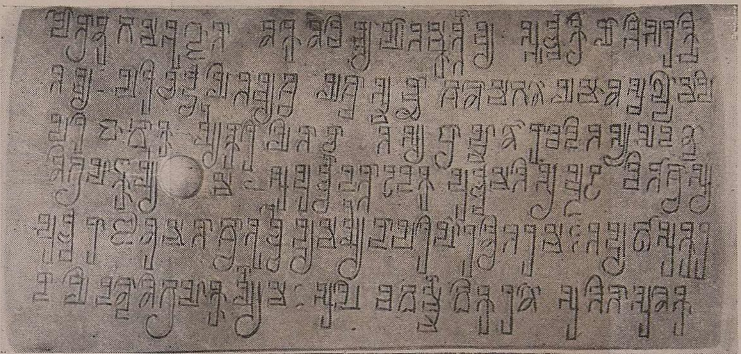


[ivb]



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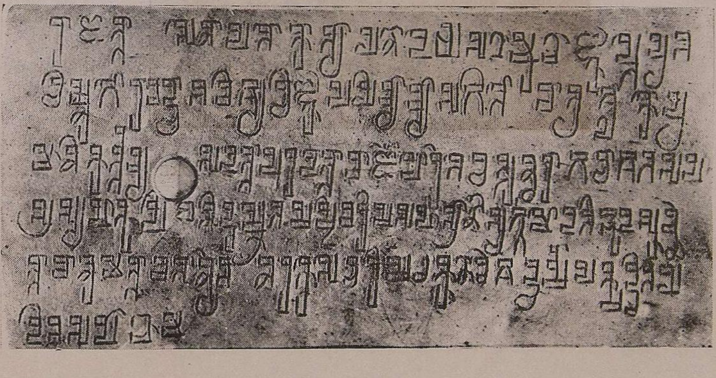

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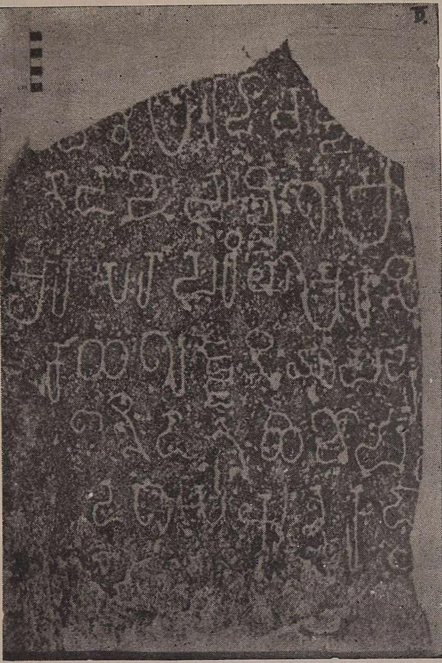
PLATE IX

KELAGUNDLI INSCRIPTION OF KADAMBA RAVIVARMA



Courtesy: DIRECTOR, PRASARANGA, MYSORE

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